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Kozyakov Previews NATO Council's Strategy

LD020217 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] A NATO Council session at summit level is opening in Brussels on Wednesday. More details from our observer Vladislav Kozyakov:

The summit meeting of the 16 NATO member-countries is being held for the first time in 6 years. It is being held in an entirely new situation. During almost 40 years the NATO continuously built up its weapons under the pretext of the Soviet threat. But now the alliance has confronted the situation when the Soviet Union and its allies are doing all they can to rake the debris of mistrust and prejudice. Without waiting for the ratification of the INF Treaty, the Soviet Union has just begun to dismantle its SS-12 missiles in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. New steps were taken during the recent talks in Moscow with the American Secretary of State George Shultz aimed at preparing an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons by President Reagan's visit to Moscow.

In other issues as well, either in banning chemical weapons or a reduction of conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, or on the issue of Afghanistan, the Soviet side shows the desire for mutually acceptable agreements. It looks as if the new approach to disarmament and security has caused many complications within the NATO. The alliance, set up on the basis of fanning fears, has confronted the problems when these fears have started to evaporate. It is rather a curious paradox that it is much easier to hold the alliance together when they are frightened than [when] they are not, NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington said in a recent BBC radio interview.

NATO plans to compensate for the American missiles, to be scrapped under the INF Treaty, are sealed with the desire to fan fears. The same cultivation of fears is also perceived in a speech of President Reagan at the annual convention of the American Legion, delivered on the eve of the meeting in Brussels. He said that imbalance in conventional forces in Europe representated an unacceptable threat to the West and calls for modernization of chemical and conventional weapons.

On the eve of the current NATO summit, many politicians in Western Europe call for a change in the alliance strategy to gear it to the spirit of time. The question is whether the alliance, set up for confrontation, will be able to take a path of realism and disarmament.

Council Must Reassess Values

LD022130 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] The Belgian capital is hosting a 2-day extraordinary session of NATO's council, involving the heads of state and government of the 16 member-nations. The conference is attended by the French president for the first time since 1966, the year when France left the NATO military organization. More in a dispatch from our correspondent in Brussels:

The current session is unusual from the viewpoint of the goal it pursues. It is reported to be focusing on security issues and East-West relations in the context of the Soviet-American INF Treaty signed in Washington. Also there are plans to exchange opinions with regard to the pending Soviet-American summit in Moscow. The essence of the problem becomes clear from comments by the West European press, which says specifically that whether NATO likes it or not the alliance is facing the need to reassess the existing values in what concerns first and foremost the Soviet Union, a country that can no longer be presented as the chief source of threat to the West.

The question, however, arises as to whether such a sober reassessment will indeed take place. On the one hand it may, since all Western governments have supported the INF Treaty and are publicly favoring a further process of disarmament. On the other hand, press reports have been calling attention to the powerful pressure exerted on politicians by the military-industrial complex, rejecting the idea of the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Resulting from this pressure is the propaganda campaign coordinated between Washington and London. Both the United States President Ronald Reagan, and the British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the initiator of the conference in Brussels, have been taking pains to justify the need to preserve the remaining nuclear arsenals and modernize them. NATO's military leaders have gone still farther in their demands for new types of nuclear weapons to be deployed in Europe in compensation for the missiles scrapped under the Soviet-American treaty. These relapses of old thinking are being viewed without enthusiasm by the West German and French leaders, each of whom for his own reasons would not like to produce in the eyes of the public the impression of opponents of lesser tension. Bonn, for one, attaches great importance to the issue of scrapping the low-power nuclear weapons. Paris, for its part, thinks it is untimely to raise the issue of modernizing NATO's remaining nuclear stockpiles and issued a statement to this effect on the eve of the summit in Brussels. The world is eager to see what the NATO conference will finally decide on.

NATO Statement Shows 'Toughness,' 'Sincerity'

LD022114 Moscow TASS in English 2045 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Brussels March 2 TASS—The current extraordinary session of the NATO council at the level of heads of state and government has adopted a statement here "Conventional Arms Control: The Way Ahead."

The document sets forth the stand of the NATO countries on questions pertaining to a cut in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. The Natoists demand from the Warsaw treaty member countries a highly asymmetric reduction of the armed forces and weapons, while making no mention whether they themselves intend or not to effect cuts in the types of the armed forces and weapons in which they have an obvious advantage over the Warsaw treaty. They also reserve for themselves the right to continue taking measures so that the NATO armed forces be effective and advanced. Moreover, the NATO heads of state and government warn in advance that even the attainment of parity in the field of conventional weapons between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty will not lead to renunciation by the West of its nuclear potential. The NATO document says that in the visible future the strategy of deterrence will, as before, require an adequate combination of both nuclear and conventional weapons.

This toughness, insincerity and unconstructive stand of the authors of the NATO statement has caused a sharp controversy between the delegations. This is seen, in particular, from the reference in the document to the special stand of Greece on nuclear issues. Well-informed circles quote Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou of Greece as noting in his statement at the session that Athens favours most far-reaching steps in the field of nuclear disarmament, and Italian Prime Minister Giovanni Goria expressed apprehension that the policy proposed by Washington might result in the loss of a historical chance in building stable international relations based on mutual trust.

NATO's Modernization Debate Analyzed

LD021558 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1032 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Brussels, 2 Mar (TASS correspondents)—[passage omitted] The London "GUARDIAN" notes that the need to hold the NATO summit meeting is the result of the process of changes in Soviet-U.S. relations since the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. "This process is also changing the entire world," the newspaper points out. "Whether NATO likes it or not, the Alliance is entering a period of necessary reappraisal of values, above all regarding the Soviet Union..., which can no longer be portrayed as the source of the primary threat to the West."

The "GUARDIAN's" assessment conveys well the sudden change in the Western public's attitude toward the USSR. The leading circles in the NATO member countries have been forced to come to terms with these feelings. All Western governments have supported the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and are publicly advocating continuation of the disarmament process.

It is clear, however, that the prospect of a nuclear-free world is not to the liking of the big wheels in the military-industrial complex. The Western press acknowledges that the governments of the major NATO countries, especially the United States, Great Britain, France, and the FRG have come under heavy pressure from the military-industrial complex, which rejects the idea of completely destroying nuclear weapons.

One consequence of this pressure is the coordinated propaganda campaign unleashed in recent weeks by Washington and London in the aim of yet again boosting the so-called "Soviet threat" in an attempt if not to wreck, then at least to restrain the nuclear disarmament process now under way. U.S. President R. Reagan and British Prime Minister M. Thatcher, on whose initiative the Brussels meeting was convened, are resorting to all manner of uses to prove the need to preserve and modernize the remaining nuclear arsenals. NATO's military leaders are going even further and actually demanding "compensation" for the missile systems being eliminated by the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

This recurrence of confrontational rhetoric and old thinking have been received with little enthusiasm by FRG and French leaders, who—each for their own reasons, including those of a domestic political nature—do not wish to appear to be opponents of the detente and disarmament process in the eye of their own public. Bonn, in particular, is attaching special importance to the question of eliminating short-range nuclear weapons, whereas Paris considers it untimely to raise the issue of modernizing NATO's nuclear arsenals.

The "NOUVELLE ATLANTIQUE" bulletin, which is close to NATO headquarters, believes an attempt will be made at the NATO summit to reconcile these stances, to smooth over differences, and to present a facade of unity and "Atlantic solidarity" to the world.

Albert Balebanov

Yuriy Levchenko

Chnoupek 'Rarefied Zone' Proposal Supported

LD021734 Moscow TASS in English 1554 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Prague March 2 TASS—The proposal of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, on building a zone of trust and cooperation, of goodneighbourly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw-Treaty states and the NATO member-countries has had the support of Czechoslovakia's allies. This was stressed by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, who was addressing a press conference in Prague today. Reliable peace and security cannot be ensured in this day and age only through measures in the military field.

Therefore Czechoslovakia favours a comprehensive approach, which equally concerns the military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian fields.

In the military field, Czechoslovakia proposes that a "rarefied zone" be gradually created, i.e. that the most dangerous weapons be withdrawn from it, that confidence-building measures be taken that would reduce the level of military confrontation.

The aim of the Czechoslovak proposal is to contribute towards disarmament talks at all levels. A specific step in this direction is also the start of withdrawal of the Soviet missiles from the territory of Czechoslovakia and the GDR prior to the ratification of the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, Bohuslav Chnoupek underscored in conclusion.

Obukhov Addresses Italian Parliamentarians

LD031142 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] Rome March 3 TASS—Ambassador A.A. Obukhov, leader of the Soviet delegation to talks with the United States on nuclear and space arms, spoke in the Italian parliament in Rome today, addressing the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Defense Commissions.

He also held a separate meeting with Senate Chairman Giovanni Spadolini.

At his meetings with Italian MP's Obukhov explained the Soviet Union's fundamental stand on issues dealt with at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms and on other disarmament matters.

Chemical Weapons Information Exchange Urged

LD022008 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

The letter from Aleksandr Belonogov, USSR permanent representative to the U.N., addressed to the U.N. secretary general, was issued here today. It points to the need for carrying out on a multilateral basis an exchange of information on chemical weapons. This would contribute to the speediest drawing up, coordination, signing and coming into force of an international convention on the total prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and in particular the practical resolution of the questions of international control and building up the atmosphere of trust, the letter says. This information shall embrace the facilities of the state participating in the current talks on a convention, which are deployed both in its national territory and in the foriegn territories. It would be useful, the letter says, that the states which do not participate in these talks, should also submit similar information.

TRUD Reports Missile Withdrawal From GDR

PM021523 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Feb 88 p 3

["Reportage From a Soviet Missilemen's Military Unit Stationed on GDR Territory and Now Returning to the Motherland" by special correspondents Yu. Dmitriyev and Yu. Mayorov: "Missile Leaving Its Position..."]

[Excerpts] Missilemen's garrisons resemble each other: in terms of the solid, capital nature of the servicemen's routine and the reliable, faultless nature of the hardware. Even the multi-axle "tractors" on which the missiles lie and which know no rest are fresh and really clean, as though they rolled off the assembly line only yesterday... Exact service, calibrated in minutes and seconds and aimed at fulfilling tasks of state importance.

This is one of the units equipped with the OTR-22 [operational-tactical missiles] missiles brought onto GDR territory (by agreement with the government of that state) in response to the stationing of U.S. Pershing-2 nuclear missiles and cruise missiles in certain West European countries. It was the first to enter onto combat duty 4 years ago, protecting the state interests of our country and our allies.

And now... We approach the military camp, and the first thing we see is a multitude of metal containers lined up alongside the buildings. German railroad workers delivered them a few days ago. Staff documents, classroom equipment, simulators, and various instruments are being sent to a new garrison decided in advance by the command. The servicemen's families are also faced with moving.

Despite the early hour, unit commander Colonel V.N. Kuzmin, a heavyset Siberian with prominent cheekbones, has already visited the combat hardware pool, the quartermasters, and the armament specialists. The unit is preparing for departure. A lot to do...

"You know," Viktor Nikolayevich says with a smile, "just one family is moving, but there is such a lot to do! Transport, stacking, packing of things. In addition, here there are family members, a lot of combat hardware, vehicles, and tractors, repair workshops, and mobile engineering and technical centers. Several railroad trains are needed. Efficient organization, order, and discipline are needed. For transportation is being effected over international mainline routes, and we will cross the USSR state border."

"What will happen to the missile complexes which the West calls SS-12's and to the others?"

"The missiles are to be destroyed in accordance with the treaty," V.N. Kuzmin replies. "The Soviet missiles and launchers being withdrawn will at once be sent to places where it is planned to eliminate them after the treaty is ratified. These delivery vehicles of nuclear retribution with a range of up to 5,500 km will simply be erased from

the military lexicon. Each side will be left with just 15 missiles and 15 launchers as museum exhibits. So that our descendants may come and look at these 'products' and know from what misfortune the older generations saved them."

The missiles will be destroyed on our own, Soviet territory. The corresponding procedure has been drawn up. Colonel General N.F. Chervov, one of the Soviet military experts at the Soviet-U.S. summit talks, gave this explanation: "...The United States and the USSR will eliminate the missiles by blowing them up in launch containers or by burning the missile stages. The nozzles and casings of rocket engines not destroyed during this process will be burned, crushed, flattened, or destroyed by the power of an explosion."

Note the words "burned, crushed, flattened..." This is said of fabulously expensive hardware which cost, as it were, great labor, sweat, engineering, and scientific questing!

Yes, precisely of these combat missiles, which have now been deemed unnecessary for mankind. This is a tremendous victory for common sense and for the new political thinking. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is to be the first step confirming the reality and consistency of the 27th CPSU Congress policy of totally eliminating nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons.

As is known, by agreement with the GDR and CSSR leadership the CPSU Central Committee adopted a decision to withdraw from those countries' territories the Soviet missiles stationed there in response to the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in West Europe without waiting for the treaty to be ratified.

Missile armaments are not the only things being reduced. Army personnel numbers are also being reduced. Only yesterday they frequently entered command and engineering schools straight from the schoolroom. They completed very difficult courses in special sciences and put on an officer's uniform with the crossed artillery barrels collar tab insignia. Then they performed uneasy combat duty somewhere in the taiga, in the deserts, and finally in the center of Europe.

Now the order has come to prepare to move...

Let the unit commander have the first word. Kuzmin comes from a military family. [passage omitted]

"One thing is clear to us military men: The building of a world without nuclear weapons has actually begun. We, of course, approve of the accords reached at the highest level in Washington. If I speak of purely everyday details, of course there are problems. What is to be done, for example, about apartments for our servicemen who do not have them in the USSR? Officers who have served out the prescribed terms of service will be dismissed from the Army with corresponding pension provision and other benefits. The rest will be reassigned to the troops. Not one officer will be left without work, for they will be ensured service in the Armed Forces."

We chat with officers. Lieutenant Colonel Anatoliy Bogachev, battalion commander, has held this post more than 6 years. He was the first to deploy his batteries for combat duty. The energetic, cheerful Lieutenants Colonel Valeriy Potapov and Aleksandr Chashin, who also have higher specialized education, including engineering education. So that, if they have to remove their shoulder straps, their knowledge will still be of use in the national economy, in our scientific research institutes and design bureaus. What experience of combat and service, what ability to work with people and with personnel! All this is behind these clever, industrious people who devote themselves entirely to their beloved work. They all say:

"This is a very good, correct, long-awaited decision. It has been achieved through the suffering of our people, who carried a very hard war on their shoulders."

"Does it not harm the security of the USSR and the other socialist community countries in connection with the fact that the USSR is eliminating more missiles under the treaty than the United States?"

No, the missilemen reply. It is not a matter of arithmetic, although we really will eliminate approximately twice as many missiles as the Americans. Two classes of missiles are being eliminated. Many circumstances have to be taken into account—political, military, moral, psychological. It must be considered, our interlocutors emphasize, that in Europe the United States is eliminating its intermediate-range missiles, which are practically strategic missiles with regard to the USSR. They are capable of hitting targets on the territory of the USSR and its allies with a flight time to the target of 8-10 minutes. These missiles have given some people a false hope of being able to win a "limited" nuclear war. The treaty removes these false hopes. [passage omitted]

Semeyko: Treaty Reflects Balance of Interests

PM030949 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by L. Semeyko, Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace Disarmament Commission deputy chairman: "Not Merely a Question of Arithmetic. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty is a Precisely Regulated Balance of Political and Military Interests"]

[Text] The process of ratifying the Treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in Moscow and Washington is by no means taking place in the same atmosphere. Whereas the treaty is winning practically universal support in the USSR (an unequivocally negative assessment is given by a negligible percentage of public opinion), quite influential U.S. forces are opposing the treaty or at

least a number of its terms. They, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote, would like to present the treaty as a defeat "for America in its confrontation with the enemy."

"Defeat" and "confrontation" are familiar terminology belonging to the old political thinking, which proceeds on the basis of hackneyed confrontational premises. Hence stems the intention of the treaty's opponents if not to blackball it outright then, while expressing pro forma approval for it, to submit "killer amendments" to it which would undermine the accords secured and nullify them. If this does not work out, then at the least spin out the ratification process, calculating on it breaking down owing to possible changes in the state of affairs in the course of the presidential campaign or particular collisions in the international arena. There is no point overestimating the capabilities of the treaty's opponents, of course. But in any case, all the indications are that stormy debates still lie ahead on Capitol Hill.

It cannot be said that questions about the treaty, often acute, are not also cropping up in the Soviet Union. The main one is: Have we made too many concessions to the U.S. side and will these concessions have an impact on our security? They usually refer to the fact that the USSR is to destroy far more missiles and warheads than the United States.

A serious and legitimate question. The idea of equal security, put forward, incidentally, by the Soviet Union, is firmly implanted in our minds. Its implementation continues to be largely thought of in terms of quantity: Having (or reducing), in particular, no fewer nuclear delivery systems than the other side has (or is reducing). This is no coincidence. During many years of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear arms limitation and reduction the United States has frequently tried to obtain unilateral strategic advantages, including quantitative advantages. But all of us also well know that the other side will not tolerate the acquisition of such advantages. Yet suddenly the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles records a major quantitative concession on our part. Why was it made and what is its significance?

First let us recall that under the treaty the USSR is to destroy 1,752 missiles (826 intermediate-range missiles and 926 shorter-range missiles) and the United States is to destroy 859 (689 intermediate-range missiles and 170 shorter-range missiles). The difference in the number of warheads is even greater, since the Soviet SS-20 intermediate-range missiles carry three warheads each whereas the U.S. missiles are single-warhead missiles. Thus you get an unequivocal first impression: The correlation (balance) of nuclear armaments has allegedly shifted in the United States' favor. Consequently at the least neither our security nor international security has supposedly been consolidated.

However, such a purely quantitative assessment would be incomplete and too narrow because ensuring security today is not so much a military problem as above all a political one. Not one but many criteria must be employed in tackling it. While we are talking about unequal reductions, however, let us begin with the military aspect. Have they infringed the interests of our security? No, and this, it seems to me, is the reason.

First, military-strategic stability in Europe and in the world as a whole is of decisive importance here. It is by and large strengthened in accordance with an iron logic: The fewer nuclear weapons there are the more durable the stability. More durable since the world political climate improves with any reductions in nuclear potentials and there is less likelihood of a potential breakdown—the chance outbreak of nuclear war—be it through human or technical factors.

Stability should also be reinforced because intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are of particular importance since they are the middle connecting link in the chain of nuclear arms—between tactical weapons (with a range up to 500 km) and strategic weapons (with a range of more than 5,500 km). The removal of this link reduces the probability of an automatic escalation of a nuclear conflict if one should be unleashed despite all measures. For it seems that even nuclear maniacs would not find it easy to decide to move directly from using nuclear artillery to launching intercontinental missiles. All this means that in the final analysis both our security and international security are being consolidated.

Another point: An important destabilizing factor associated with the fact that 100 U.S. Pershing-2's can still reach Soviet targets in some 10 minutes is disappearing.

Second, we must not forget the strategic value of the missiles being eliminated is not the same. The U.S. Euromissiles can reach the territory of the USSR whereas Soviet intermediate- and shorter-range missiles cannot reach the United States. This is an essential factor when assessing the treaty: The very scale of the nuclear threat to Soviet territory is being substantially reduced. Substantially, despite the fact that a seemingly extremely small percentage of the U.S. nuclear arsenal is being reduced.

Calculations show the U.S. Euromissiles to be eliminated represent almost 10,000 Hiroshima bombs. Whereas the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima had a yield of 13 kilotonnes, every cruise missile can transport 200 kilotonnes to a target and most Pershing-1A's have 400 kilotonnes of deadly firepower. This threat will now be removed. Quite understandably the threat is also being removed from numerous targets in European and Asian countries with the elimination of some of the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

Third, the very balance of nuclear forces, however paradoxical this may seem, remains approximately equal despite the unequal reductions. The point here is that a purely quantitative approach to the determination of this balance is increasingly becoming a thing of the past. The qualitative factor—the capability of nuclear forces to inflict a retaliatory strike as retribution if nuclear aggression is carried out—is coming to the fore. Micrometrically gauged quantitative equality in nuclear forces is not at all necessary for crushing nuclear retaliation. Therefore, considering also that more than 95 percent of Soviet nuclear might is still in commission, one can talk with confidence about the preservation of approximate equilibrium in this might. One could also talk about equilibrium if there was a 50-percent reduction in strategic arsenals.

Consideration must also be given to an objective factor: Today the USSR has more intermediate- and shorter-range missiles than the United States. If the treaty provided for only a partial (but of equal scale) reduction in intermediate- and shorter-range missiles rather than a 100-percent reduction, this would be tantamount to retaining a "nuclear splinter" in the very sensitive mechanism of European security—to retaining both political and military tension. Who would benefit from this? The answer must presumably be clear. Moreover, if the treaty had not been concluded at all then this year almost 650 deployed U.S. and West German missiles would be aimed against us and our allies and there would be another couple of hundred in reserve. Again, whom would this benefit?

Thus, a simplistic view should not be taken of the quantitative aspect of the nuclear balance. Especially because we in no way leave it out of consideration. One of the political tasks of the talks is to level out the quantitative balance both in the nuclear sphere and in the conventional armaments sphere. The removal of the quantitative imbalance which is taking shape in Europe if you take into consideration both U.S. forward-based systems and also the Anglo-French nuclear potential, becomes even more necessary in the conditions of the projected sharp reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms.

The established equilibrium could be violated if NATO were to begin the so-called compensatory buildup of its nuclear armaments in Europe. Such "compensation" would be not only dangerous in the political and military sense but also essentially absurd: Strictly speaking what is there to compensate for if the Soviet Union also eliminates more nuclear arms than the United States?

By and large the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is a successful example of a balance of interests. Both military and political interests. Even so the essence and importance of the treaty are determined not so much by the quantitative aspect as by the political and psychological results secured. An unprecedented breakthrough has been made here. In fact, a practical start has been made on the process of nuclear disarmament. Broad verification measures have laid the foundations for building mutual confidence. In accordance with the principles of the new political thinking a real step has been taken toward mutual and universal security. An improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, with a natural general normalization of the international climate, has been observed. In accordance with the treaty, apart from the USSR and the United States another seven European countries have pledged to make their contribution to reducing the acuteness of the nuclear confrontation on our continent.

The experience gained by the sides in elaborating the treaty on intermediate and shorter-range missiles is an invaluable contribution to the possibility of concluding the next agreement, on a much larger scale, on a 50-percent reduction in the USSR and U.S. strategic nuclear arsenals while observing the ABM Treaty. This possibility became even more likely as a result of the talks with U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz in Moscow. Maybe a radical breakthrough both in disarmament and in Soviet-U.S. relations has still not happened, but all the indications are that trends toward it is in evidence. The ratification of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is intended to reinforce these trends.

Warsaw Pact Representatives Meet 1-2 March
LD021428 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw March 2 TASS—The multilateral group for current mutual information comprising representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member countries held a regular session in Warsaw on March 1 and 2.

They exchanged information and views on some topical international issues, specifically those related to security and cooperation in Europe.

Henryk Jaroszek, general secretary of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee and deputy foreign minister of Poland, addressed the session's participants.

CEMA Members Finance Ministers Meet in Moscow

Hungarian, Soviet Ministers Meet
LD020954 Budapest MTI in English 0505 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, February 2 (MTI)—The ministers of finance of the CMEA countries held a working meeting in Moscow, and exchanged views on the comprehensive development of the currency, financial and credit relations to the member states, related to the implementation of the resolutions passed at the 43rd session of the CMEA. The meeting was attended by Hungarian Minister of Finance Dr Miklos Villanyi.

At talks with Boris Gostev, minister of finance of the Soviet Union, Miklos Villanyi reviewed timely issues of bilateral financial cooperation, and determined the priority areas of further work and the organizational frameworks of these. An agreement was signed on setting up bilateral experts' working groups.

Ovcharov Represents Bulgaria
AU022116 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] A working meeting of the CEMA member countries finance ministers was held in Moscow. Bulgaria was represented by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economics and planning. Representatives of the CEMA Secretariat, the International Bank for Economic Cooperation, and the International Investment Bank also took part in the meeting.

A useful exchange of views took place on the comprehensive improvement of the foreign exchange-financial and credit relations between the CEMA member countries in accordance with the decisions of the 43d Extraordinary Session of CEMA, and on other questions of common interest.

Nikolay Slyunkov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, received Stoyan Ovcharov today. They discussed topical issues connected with implementing the economic reforms in both countries and with Bulgarian-Soviet economic cooperation.

Slyunkov Meets Ovcharov
LD022354 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Slyunkov today received Comrade Ovcharov, Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee member and minister of economics and planning, who arrived in Moscow to participate in the CEMA member countries finance ministers meeting.

During the conversation topical issues concerning the implementation of economic reform in the two countries and Soviet-Bulgarian economic cooperation were discussed.

Mongolia Hosts Bloc Parliamentary Group Leaders
PM031039 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Nabatchikov dispatch: "Interparliamentary Ties: Toward the Anniversary"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—A regular consultative meeting of chairmen of the parliamentary groups of the socialist IPU member countries was held in Ulaanbaatar 25-26 February. The Soviet delegation at the meeting was headed by Pilot-cosmonaut A.S. Yeliseyev, USSR Parliamentary Group deputy chairman and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Its participants briefed each other on interparliamentary ties over the past year and on plans for cooperation in the very near future. They discussed questions of revising the IPU's charter and procedural rules and preparing for its centenary in 1989, as well as other tasks of upcoming interparliamentary conferences. Unanimous support was expressed at the meeting for Mongolia's initiative on holding a regional meeting of Asian and Pacific countries' parliamentarians on problems of peace and development as early as during the current decade. In the opinion of the socialist countries' parliamentary groups, it accords with the interests of arranging a broad dialogue and equitable, mutually advantageous cooperation among the region's states.

The delegates rated highly the historic results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington and emphasized the need for vigorous actions by all peace-loving forces to achieve the aim of creating an all-embracing system of international peace and security. The problems of settling the situation around Afghanistan and

Cambodia were touched on at the meeting, and the great significance of the DPRK Government's proposals for easing tension on the Korean Peninsula was noted.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of the complete coincidence of its participants' positions and in a spirit of mutual understanding and unity on all the questions discussed.

United States & Canada

Reagan Announces New Shultz Mideast Tour

LD022023 Moscow TASS in English 2017 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Brussels March 2 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will make a new Middle East tour, U.S. President Ronald Reagan told a press conference in Brussels today. During the trip which begins Thursday the U.S. secretary of state will continue the efforts to look for ways of a peace settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Reagan and Shultz arrived in Brussels to attend the NATO council session at the level of the heads of state and government.

The just-ended round of Shultz's talks in Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Israel did not yield results. The heads of the Arab states rejected the U.S. plan of "settlement" brought to them. This plan is modelled on Camp David and ignores the lawful interests of Arab nations, first and foremost, the Palestinian people.

Kornilov on 'Ultra-Rightists' 'Misinformation'

LD021532 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Yuriy Kornilov Commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—The Soviet initiatives on Afghanistan, which have opened the way towards a just political settlement of the grim and bloody regional conflict, have aroused concern and anger among the American ultras who would like to preserve the seat of tensions in Asia whatever the cost. How and with the use of what methods is it possible to call these initiatives into question? They at the ultra-rightist organisation, which was set up in New York under the pompous signboard of the "Freedom House", are wrecking their brains over that problem. And now they have at last conceived the idea. What if on the eve of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva they set afloat the invention that the Soviet proposals are a "perfidious manoeuvre" designed to "deceive the West".

No sooner said than done. The misinformation experts from the "Freedom House" have hastily invented a fantastic story that albeit the Soviets declared their resolve to return their troops home from Afghanistan, they were not intending to do so, in real fact. What about the proofs? They are ready, if you please. It turns out that Moscow intends, can you imagine... "disguise" its servicemen, from among those who came from Soviet Central Asia "as Afghans" and supply them with Afghan papers and thus be able to leave them back secretly in Afghanistan. This is stuff and nonsense, you will say. But the right-wing newspaper WASHINGTON TIMES found this invention quite appropriate and published it in one of its latest issues.

It must be said that the so-called "Freedom House", which is closely associated with the U.S. military-industrial complex and Zionist centres have invented such anti-Soviet frauds not for the first time. Once, for example, it put to use the absurd inventions about violations of human rights, allegedly taking place in our country. It literally overloaded the Congress and the American bourgeois newspapers with calls not to do trade with the USSR, and boycott the Moscow Olympic Games. By setting afloat the canard about plans for "secretly disguising" Soviet servicemen "as Afghans", specialists in bad-smelling anti-Soviet sensations are clearly out to beat their old "records" as regards the invention of false stories. It is just time to rename the "Freedom House" into a "house of the lies."

'Negotiators, Bloodletters' on Afghan Pullout

PM021513 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch: "Who is Against and Why"]

[Text] New York—Virtually all of THE NEW YORK TIMES editorials on foreign policy issues are written by Leslie Gelb. He forms opinions on foreign policy like a professional: He has many years of intensive experience behind him after working in Congress, the Pentagon, and the State Department, where he held a position of considerable importance.

Each editorial is not simply an expression of the author's views. It incorporates the collective wisdom of all 16 members of the newspaper's editorial collegium, which is one of the most authoritative in the United States.

"But what about the opinions of your readers?" I asked Gelb. "Are they taken into consideration?"

"We could not possibly ignore them."

That being so, an editorial published by THE NEW YORK TIMES several days ago is particularly important. It was on the subject of the Afghan problem. If the editorial did in fact reflect readers' opinions, this means Americans are inclined to see Moscow's latest initiative as a real opportunity to untangle the Afghan knot. "The Russians," THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote, "have made the decision to leave and it is up to the United States to help them in this."

However, far from every Washington official agrees with this. According to THE NATION, "the administration is now split into two camps—those who may be termed 'negotiators' and those who must be ranked among the 'bloodletters,' that is, those who are trying to prolong the conflict as long as possible in do the greatest possible damage to the Soviet Union."

The "bloodletting" group is mainly concentrated in the middle echelons of the Pentagon hierarchy but also includes some members of the White House, albeit not of the highest rank. In Congress the interests of this group are represented in particular by Wilson, a Democrat from Texas, and Humphrey, a Republican senator from New Hampshire. Wilson is renowned for the fact that he has demanded and is still demanding the Afghan armed opposition be given aid on a scale far greater than envisaged even by the administration.

The main argument of the congressman from Texas is that aid for the mujahidin represents a colossal investment of time, money, and technology. The United States should save and preserve these investments.

It is hard to judge the amount of time spent. But as far as money is concerned, through CIA channels alone the United States has already given the rebels no less than $1.4 billion, in addition to another $1.2 billion "invested" in Afghanistan on a multilateral basis, that is, with the participation of other countries.

I got through to the office of Congressman Wilson. Charles Schnabel, one of the congressman's leading staffers, confirmed that yes, the capital investments must be protected. "We have gone to enormous expense and would not like that money to simply be thrown to the wind."

"So what are you trying to do?"

"We want to see the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the establishment of a regime acceptable to the rebels."

Something else became clear from the conversation: From Wilson's viewpoint and from like-minded thinkers on Capitol Hill, the investment in Afghanistan must continue and there cannot even be any question of terminating aid for the mujahidin when the withdrawal of Soviet troops begins. Schnabel reminded me that Congress approved the relevant document on this score several days ago, although it is true that it is not binding upon the administration.

"How widely held on Capitol Hill is the view you and your congressman profess?" I asked Schnabel.

"A great many share our opinion in one aspect or another."

I have not yet had the opportunity to verify this claim. I do believe, however, that a battle is raging in Congress and in the administration over the question of Afghanistan—a battle on whose outcome an incredibly great deal depends.

UN To Discuss U.S. Closure of PLO Mission

LD290934 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] New York February 29 TASS—TASS correspondent V. Chernyshov reports:

The 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly resumes its work here today at the request of Arab countries representatives of the U.S. Administration to close the PLO permanent observer mission at the U.N.

U.S. actions are regarded in the U.N. circles as an insolent challenge to the will of the United Nations Organization, as a manifestation of a policy which is deeply hostile both to the Palestinian people and the Arab world in general. Addressing the General Assembly, U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar pointed out that for the U.N. it was a matter of the observance of standards of the international law. The coordinating bureau of non-aligned countries, the Islamic Conference and the U.N. committee for the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people supported the appeal of Arab countries to take measures for stopping Washington's provocative actions.

For a long time the world community took steps for settling the crisis that aggravated in conditions of the heightening of anti-Palestinian hysteria in the U.S. In a resolution adopted specially on this problem last December the U.N. General Assembly emphasized that the U.S. had committed itself to ensuring for staff members of the PLO permanent observer mission at the U.N. the entrance to the U.S. and the stay there for the purpose of discharging their official functions at the U.N. headquarters. The world community urged the U.S. as a host country for the U.N. headquarters to live up to its contractual commitments.

However, the U.S. authorities openly broke their commitments. Last year, yielding to the pressure of the powerful Zionist lobby which U.S. politicians especially seek to please ahead of the presidential election, U.S. Congress adopted a draft law and the President signed a document on the basis of which Washington intends to evict PLO from the U.N. According to the U.S. press, a decision to start this 'operation' has actually been taken already. Washington is postponing an official announcement till the return of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz from his Middle East trip, because it fears, and with good reason, that such a provocative anti-Arab step could hamper his efforts aimed at imposing another version of a Camp David 'settlement' on the Arab countries.

In this connection it is pointed out at the U.N. headquarters that the anti-Palestinian crusade of Washington is at the same time a component part of its 'war against the U.N.', as well as of its Middle East policy which makes more difficult the attaining of a comprehensive,

just and durable settlement of the conflict in the region through convening as soon as possible an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO which is the only lawful representative of the Palestinian people.

'Dangerous Precedent'

LD020928 Moscow TASS in English 0751 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 2 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshov reports:

The delegations of 44 countries, including the Soviet Union, have submitted two draft resolutions, aimed at stopping the U.S. Government's unlawful actions with regard to the mission of the permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) at the United Nations, to the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly for consideration.

The draft resolutions emphasize that the United States, under the agreement with the United Nations Organization, is obliged to ensure proper conditions for the PLO mission at the United Nations to discharge its functions.

The participants at the discussion at the session of the General Assembly, which resumed its work in view of the U.S. intention to close down the PLO mission at the United Nations, virtually unanimously view Washington's anti-Palestinian actions being prepared also as a step aimed at undermining the UNO itself and its resources effectively to promote the maintenance of international peace and security.

This is not a "USA versus PLO" case, pointed out Clovis Maksud, permanent observer of the League of Arab States at the United Nations, but a "USA versus UNO case", for the intention to close down the PLO mission is a gross interference in the affairs of the United Nations Organization and creates an exceptionally dangerous precedent of a breach of international law.

The PLO has been recognized [as] the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Attempts at muffling its voice signify a desire to deprive the UNO of the possibility of fully taking into account the opinion of the Palestinian people in the Middle East peace process.

Representatives of the international community emphasize that the only way to a settlement of the Middle East conflict lies through the earliest convocation of an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO.

Commentary Criticizes VOA 'Interference'

LD011557 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Now a commentary on the Voice of America programs:

It is well known that Washington likes to teach others, and it's also no secret that the Voice of America radio station is assigned to play a special role in that. Washington has never tried to conceal the fact that it does not accept the Soviet system. Well, that's their business. We, too, have our opinions on what goes on in the United States but what we are absolutely against is crude interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, which the VOA is practising.

Sometimes this interference is of an open subversive character. Lately the VOA has been acting as a mentor on the nationalities issue in the Soviet Union. Actually this boils down to inciting anti-Soviet provocations. Very indicative here are the programs of the VOA for the Soviet Baltic republics. However, it has failed completely in attempts to provoke antiSoviet actions and only deeply angered Soviet people. By the way, when you hear from across the ocean lectures about how people in the Soviet Union should live and behave, what come to mind are the words of President Abraham Lincoln, who said that before you start teaching others you should learn yourselves.

It is not for the United States, where the rights of the national minorities are trampled upon and where racism reigns, it's not for them to teach others democracy and harmony among different nationalities. It's not for the United States to teach others—a country whose strategic allies are Israel committing brutalities in the occupied Arab lands, racist South Africa, the Pinochet regime in Chile, and many others.

Korobov Questions Reasons for Visa Restrictions

PM021056 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 9

[A. Korobov article under the rubric "The Truth About Human Rights": "Making Contact"]

[Text] Last week a delegation from the Medical Workers Trade Union Central Committee left for the United States at the invitation of the Alaskan public health association. The U.S. Embassy marked the passports of all the delegation's members: "No meetings with trade unions."

In this connection it is reasonable to ask: What does the State Department understand by freedom of movement, which they uphold so zealously?

Since 1952 the McCarran-Walter immigration law has been in force in the United States. Adopted when the "cold war" was at its height, it bans entry into the country for Communists, terrorists, and so forth, up to and including representatives of trade unions operating, as the law expresses it, under the control of communist parties. To give America its due, this law, unlike many others, such as those concerning taxation, for instance, has been strictly observed for some decades now.

Here is a recent episode. In 1987 a trade union delegation from the USSR intended to brief U.S. colleagues at a conference on health and safety at work in Washington on their experience in the struggle to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES. It was not to be. They were refused visas.

This practice has evidently perplexed some sensible Americans too. As a result, at the end of last year Congress adopted an amendment forbidding the State Department to refuse visas for political motives. The U.S. press exulted: Look what freedom we have now! But it bypassed in the silence of the grave another amendment to that amendment which said, among other things, that an exception is made for the trade unions of... totalitarian regimes.

Meanwhile U.S. President Ronald Reagan calls for the all-around widening of contacts, meeting with full understanding on the Soviet side. But the State Department still holds its own. If it is unable formally to refuse entry, it is prepared at least to prevent those very contacts. Or perhaps it means something different by "contact"?

China

RENMIN RIBAO Notes Restructuring Results

PM021921 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS roundup dated 20 February: "Along the Path of Revolutionary Restructuring"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Union intends to activate restructuring and ensure radical changes in productive forces and production relations, the revolutionary renewal of social and political structures, and the growth of society's spiritual and intellectual potential. Mass media, statesmen, and public figures reach this conclusion when commenting widely on the results of the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum and on the plenum speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It is emphasized that the Soviet Union resolutely rejects the dogmatic, bureaucratic, and voluntaristic legacy which has nothing in common either with Marxism-Leninism or with genuine socialism. [passage omitted]

Beijing—"Restructuring in the Soviet Union does not mean abandonment of socialism and Marxism-Leninism," the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO emphasizes in an article heading, setting forth the main points in M.S. Gorbachev's speech. The Soviet Union considers it necessary to mount a resolute struggle against dogmatism and red tape. Over the past 3 years, the Soviet Union has achieved definite results after having taken a number of major measures in the areas of radical restructuring of the Soviet economy and democratization of social life. For various reasons, however, the strength of the resistance to restructuring has exceeded the Soviet leadership's expectations. The newspaper emphasizes that the plenum was held at "a key moment of Soviet restructuring." Its results attest that, despite resistance from the "left" and the "right," the Soviet leadership is fully resolved to continue restructuring.

Chinese Edition of Gorbachev Book Reprinted

PM021413 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[A. Kozhin report: "Reprint"]

[Text] The newspaper ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO reports that M.S. Gorbachev's book "Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and for the Whole World," which was published in Beijing last December by the "Xinhua" Publishing House in Chinese, is now being reprinted: The first print run sold out very quickly, and there is a great demand for the book.

Why is M.S. Gorbachev's book so popular in China?, the youth newspaper asks. This is accounted for, above all, by the broad interest of the Chinese in the restructuring in the Soviet Union and by their desire to get to know in greater depth the essence, problems, achievements, and experience of the truly revolutionary transformations under way there. Readers are won over by the openness, clarity, and honesty of the book's contents and the comprehensive, principled analysis of the historical path traveled by the Soviet working people.

'Reminiscences' of Zhou Enlai Aides Cited

PM021435 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "RENMIN RIBAO on Zhou Enlai"]

[Text] Beijing, 22 Feb—To mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of the outstanding PRC party and state figure Zhou Enlai on 5 March, the CPC Central Committee organ RENMIN RIBAO has published the reminiscences of his aides.

From the first day of the PRC's existence through to Zhou's death in January 1976, he headed the Chinese Government. The authors of the memoirs view his life as "a model of loyal service to the people and the country's national interests, even in the most adverse conditions, and as an example of the correct approach to solving

cadre questions and problems of economic development in light of China's real opportunities." The point is made that Zhou Enlai always knew how to listen to the opinions of the representatives of different circles, including those outside the CPC, and to unite them.

Zhou Enlai rendered particular services, the authors write, in organizing help for the Korean people in the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. After the Chinese volunteers, commanded by Peng Dehuai, entered the war of resistance to U.S. aggression, Zhou Enlai as premier of the PRC State Council and as deputy chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Council did tremendous work to provide the Chinese volunteers with everything that they needed and actually led the activity of the Chinese representatives when talks began with the U.S. side. The signing of the cease-fire agreement in Korea, his aides point out, made an important contribution to ensuring the DPRK's independence, China's security, and peace throughout the world.

Reminiscences about the leadership of Zhou Enlai and Chen Yun, member of the PRC State Planning Committee in 1952, in the work of drawing up the First 5-Year Plan for Developing the Country's National Economy are of great interest. The First 5-Year Plan, the article says, was formed on the basis of experience borrowed from the Soviet Union. China's actual conditions were fully taken into account at that time. Completed 1 year ahead of schedule, it laid the "original foundation for the industrialization of the PRC." In that way a "very important step was taken in the process of seeking the correct way to build socialism in China."

The Second 5-Year Plan of Economic and Social Development was compiled in light of the experience of the first plan. It envisaged creation of favorable conditions for developing productive forces. The plan also envisaged creation of a combination of centralism and independence, as well as simultaneous development of large-scale industry and small economic units, the state, and other sectors of the national economy, and the principles of direct and indirect planning. However, the Chinese premier's aides write, the implementation of the plan was interrupted by the "Great Leap Forward," begun, as is well known, on the initiative of Mao Zedong.

The authors describe Zhou Enlai's enormous work during the "Great Leap Forward" in ensuring essential food supplies to the starving regions, when people "were swollen with hunger and died an unnatural death." After the "Cultural Revolution" began, Zhou Enlai made tremendous efforts to save cadre workers. He was guided by the principle of "serving the cause to one's last gasp." During those years, he often told his aides that "history and the people will understand him."

The article emphasizes Zhou Enlai's important role in the expansion of the PRC's foreign policy ties, particularly after the visit to Beijing by President Nixon in 1972. On the eve of that visit, the head of the Chinese Government pointed out to his aides the need to "conduct themselves with dignity and to show hospitality but not to kowtow." Characterizing Sino-U.S. talks at that time, the authors of the memoirs note that Zhou Enlai fundamentally and staunchly defended the PRC's national dignity. It was in those years that the new structure of Chinese diplomacy was formed. At that time, conditions were also created for conducting the present reforms and for the policy of expanding ties with the rest of the world.

Deng Xiaoping, Zambia's Kaunda Hold Talks

LD012045 Moscow TASS in English 1821 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Beijing March 1 TASS—Peace and development are now the most important tasks facing all states, said today Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, talking to Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, paying an official visit here.

Kenneth Kaunda noted that Zambia highly appreciated the attitude of the People's Republic of China to problems of peace, the XINHUA news agency reports. Zambia and China see common tasks in this area of international relations, he underlined.

Leaders Denounce Apartheid

LD011226 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Beijing March 1 TASS—Li Xiannian, chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Communist Party of China Central Committee and acting premier of the State Council, have resolutely denounced the criminal activity of the South African authorities.

In talks in Beijing with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, they voiced support of the Chinese Government and people for the fair struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and "frontline" states against apartheid.

Addressing a reception held in his honour in the Chinese capital, Kaunda said that the activity of the Pretoria authorities was a source of instability both in the Republic of South African and in the south of the entire continent.

He stated that the aggressive activities by the racists against neighbouring countries constituted a serious threat to peace and security.

Northeast Asia

Joint Fisheries Commission Meets in Tokyo

LD292137 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Tokyo February 29 TASS—The 4th session of the Soviet-Japanese mixed commission on fisheries opened its work here today.

The commission will consider problems of scientific-technical cooperation in fisheries between the two countries, including questions of salmon stocks and fishing in rivers of the Soviet Far East.

Shalayev-Led TU Delegation Visits DPRK

LD011442 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] The Soviet trade union delegation headed by Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman, continues its friendly visit to the DPRK. Our correspondent Mikhail Kretov reports from Pyongyang:

[Kretov] The visit of the representatives of the Soviet trade unions to the Korean land began with wreath laying at the Tasanzan Cemetery of Revolutionaries and at the Monument of Freedom, which was erected in honor of the Soviet soldiers who fell in the battles for the liberation and happiness of the Korean people.

Negotiations also took place between delegations of Soviet and Korean trade unions. During the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and complete unanimity of views, the sides exchanged information on the current activities of our countries' trade unions. They also discussed ways to further develop cooperation between our countries. The Soviet delegation listened with understanding to the report on implementing the resolutions of the Sixth Korean Workers' Party Congress and on putting the ideological, technological, and cultural revolution, as well as 10 prospective national economy plans for the 1980's, into practice in the Republic. The official friendly visit of the Soviet trade unions to the DPRK continues.

Tours Kaesong, Panmunjom

LD030348 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] A Soviet trade union delegation, headed by Comrade Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman, is in the DPRK on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea.

On 2 March, the delegation members made a trip to Kaesong, one of the country's most ancient towns, and also to Panmunjom, which is in the center of the demilitarized zone cutting across the entire Korean peninsula. During meetings with the heads of local party, state, and trade union bodies, the Korean side voiced profound appreciation to the Soviet people for their unvarying solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea and the independent peaceful unification of the country.

Comrade Shalayev stressed that the working people and trade unions of the USSR are profoundly sympathetic to Korean efforts to overcome national division peacefully and democratically.

DPRK's O Chin-u in Moscow for Military Jubilee

For DPRK reportage on the visit to Moscow of O Chin-u, member of the Presidium of the WPK [Workers Party of Korea] Central Committee Politburo and director of the People's Armed Forces, to participate in the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy, see the North Korea section of the 29 February East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

MPRP Delegation Meets With Solomentsev

PM031011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] An MPRP delegation headed by B. Lamjab, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the MPRP Central Committee Party Control Committee, visited the Soviet Union on 22 through 29 February in accordance with the plan for party ties between the CPSU and the MPRP.

The Mongolian comrades familiarized themselves with the work experience of CPSU party control organs and visited a number of party committees and industrial and agricultural enterprises. They had meetings and conversations at the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, and the Alma Ata party obkom.

The delegation was received by M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. A warm, friendly conversation was held in which the following participated: I.S. Gustov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; M.A. Ponomarev, deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; and T. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR.

Zaykov Talks With Ulaanbaatar Party Chief Lantuu
PM030917 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 88 p 2

[MOSTASS report: "On the Same Course"]

[Text] Direct business-like contacts between the CPSU and MPRP organizations in the two countries' capitals are an important factor in the steady, ongoing development of friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal peoples. The party organizations in Moscow and Ulaanbaatar rightfully play the role of leaders setting the tone for all of the multifaceted activity of Soviet and Mongolian Communists.

This was stressed during the 19 February conversation between L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and a delegation of the Ulaanbaatar City MPRP Committee headed by L. Lantuu, first secretary of the city party committee, which is visiting Moscow at the invitation of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

L.N. Zaykov briefed the Mongolian guests on the main avenues of the Moscow party organization's activity to implement tasks of the present stage of restructuring: implementation of radical economic reform, further democratization of society, and the Moscow Communists' preparations for the 19th all-union party conference.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, he stressed, are of great importance for the party and the whole country. The plenum speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, formulated the fundamental ideological aspects of restructuring and defined specific tasks to be solved before the all-union party conference. The plan of main priority measures by the Moscow CPSU Gorkom in the coming period, which sums up and concretizes proposals and critical remarks by the capital's Communists, defines measures concerning the party-political backing for the main avenues of work by Moscow's working people in 1988. On the whole, the capital's party organization displays ideological maturity and determination to make a specific and weighty contribution to the fundamental renewal of Soviet society and acceleration of the USSR's socioeconomic development.

L. Lantuu spoke of the work by the Ulaanbaatar party organization to implement the decisions of the 19th MPRP Congress and the comprehensive plans for the economic and social development of the capital and the Republic. The ideas of Great October, the experience of Lenin's party, and the historical accomplishments by the USSR in the past 7 decades, he noted, serve as a guiding star for Mongolian Communists in the building of the new life. The specific assistance from the USSR and the all-around Soviet-Mongolian cooperation are tremendously important for Mongolia in solving creative tasks. Construction industry workers and specialists from Moscow participate tangibly in the construction of major industrial, cultural, and consumer service projects on Mongolian soil.

L.N. Zaykov and L. Lantuu signed a treaty on cooperation between party, soviet, trade union, and youth organizations in Moscow and Ulaanbaatar in 1988-1991. The document envisages expansion of mutually advantageous contacts, exchange of delegations and groups of specialists, and consolidation of the fruitful cooperation between the two fraternal capitals.

Taking part in the conversation were M.P. Makareyev, section chief at a CPSU Central Committee department; members and candidate members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau; and Mongolian Ambassador to the USSR Ts. Gurbadam.

Briefs

Radio Relay Link to Mongolia

A new radio-relay link supported by 25-meter-high towers has been commissioned in Mongolia. The 360-kilometer-long link has been built with Soviet assistance, and it stretches from Ulaanbaator via Darhan to Suhbaatar. [Begin recording by I.Norojav, Mongolian minister of communications] The line is the third one in the country. The first two stretch west and east of Ulaanbaator. The lines make it possible to dial direct to the CSSR, the GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, or Poland and via Moscow to Delhi, New York, or Paris. The areas covered by television are becoming more numerous as well: Today they include Darhan and Suhbaatar. Another line is being constructed southward, deep into the Gobi Desert. The construction is to be completed within the current 5-year period. [end recording] [Text] [*Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Feb 88 LD*]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Ivanovskiy Discusses Visit, Ties With Thailand
BK020818 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Feature entitled "From the Soviet-Thai History File"]

[Text] Listeners probably still remember that in December [1987], Army General Yevgeniy Ivanovskiy, commander of the Soviet Ground Forces, was invited to visit Thailand—the first visit by any Soviet commander—to commemorate the 60th birthday of His Majesty King Phumiphon Adunyadet. A royal decoration was conferred on Ivanovskiy during his visit.

Speaking to a Radio Moscow correspondent, Gen Ivanovskiy said:

[Begin Ivanovskiy recording in Russian fading into Thai translation] I visited Thailand at the invitation of His Excellency General Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the Thai army commander. It was the first visit to Thailand by a Soviet general. The visit was a success for continued expansion of contacts between representatives of the military circles of the two countries. This first visit opened new opportunities for development of contacts and visits. The Thai Prime Minister, Gen Prem Tinsulanon, is expected to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union soon. It is expected that military cooperation will be discussed during the visit, and it is possible that commanders of branches of the two countries' Armed Forces will exchange visits. All of this will contribute to better understanding and mutually beneficial cooperation between the people of the two countries.

Lao Delegation Visits Thailand

LD292155 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Vientiane February 29 TASS—The Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic will send its delegation, led by Major General Thonglai Kommasit to Bangkok on March 3, in reply to the proposal of the head of the Thai Government that Lao-Thai negotiations be held in Bangkok.

This is said in a message of Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic Kaysone Phomvihan to Prime Minister of Thailand Prem Tinsulanon, which has been distributed here today.

The Government of Laos approves of the decisions of the Lao and Thai military delegations and supports their proposal that political negotiations be held at the governmental level with a view of reaching a fair settlement of the bilateral frontier conflict on the basis of the Franco-Siam Treaty of 1907, with the use of relevant topographic maps.

Moscow Committee Delegation Visits Hanoi

BK271549 Hanoi VNA in English 1518 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Hanoi VNA Feb 27—A delegation of the party committee and the Soviet of Moscow led by O. A. Korolev, secretary of the Moscow party committee visited Hanoi from 23 to 27 February.

The Soviet guests were cordially received by Nguyen Duc Tam, Politburo member and secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee.

Nguyen Thanh Binh, Politburo member of the party Central Committee and secretary of the Hanoi party committee conferred with the delegation on the relations and cooperation between the two cities.

The two sides signed an agreement on their political relations and labor cooperation in planting and processing vegetables and coffee from now till the year 1991. On labor cooperation in 1988, Moscow will receive 3,650 workers for working in the tailoring, engineering, building, and fish processing branches.

Briefs

Vietnamese Labor in USSR

The Vietnam Labor Management Committee in the Soviet Union recently held a conference to review its 1987 tasks and discuss 1988 work. At present, there are more than 40,000 Vietnamese laborers studying and working at 192 enterprises in 96 Soviet cities. In 1987, Vietnamese laborers actively participated in the socialist emulation movement and contributed to fulfilling production plan norms of these enterprises. Vietnamese textile and construction workers, after 4 years of studying and working in the Soviet Union, have acquired top professional skills in their fields. Many of them have won prizes and received commendation letters at various professional skill contests and from factories. Along with studying and engaging in production, Vietnamese laborers have also participated in cultural and social activities. The conference stressed that, in 1988, Vietnamese workers should strive to work and study harder, strengthen unity, promote a healthy cultural life, and oppose negative phenomena. [Summary] *[Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 2 Mar 88 BK]*

Australian Engineers Accord

Canberra February 29 TASS—The Engineers Institute of Australia and the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies have signed an agreement on cooperation providing for exchanges of information and delegations and the holding of joint conferences. The agreement was concluded during the visit to Australia of a Soviet delegation led by Academician Aleksandr Ishlinskiy, chairman of the board of the union. The delegation attended the international conference of engineers in Sydney, which discussed the role of engineers and technicians in contemporary society, their contribution to technological progress, to broadening contacts and ties among the nations. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 29 Feb 88 LD*]

Near East & South Asia

Afghanistan Protests Overflight by Pakistan

Plane on 'Reconnaissance' Mission

LD021750 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 2 TASS—Pakistan's charge d'affaires ad interim here was today summoned to the Afghan foreign ministry and handed a protest note over his country's provocation against Afghanistan earlier in the day.

The note said that a Pakistani Air Force plane crossed into Afghan air space over Konar Province on Wednesday morning and made a reconnaissance overflight of Afghan territory, after which it flew back to Pakistan.

The Afghan side drew attention to the fact that the incident took place on the day when Afghan-Pakistani talks opened in Geneva, and demanded that Pakistan put an end to its provocations.

'Provocation' Linked to Talks

LD031428 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Commentator Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The Afghan and Pakistani delegations have gotten down to talks in Geneva on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. And on the same day an F-16 jet fighter-bomber of the Pakistani Air Force violated the Afghan border and intruded into Afghanistan's air space in the area of Khas Konar.

What is the purpose of this? It is hardly likely that this flight by a modern combat plane was due to a blunder by some low-ranking officer who either knew nothing about the Geneva talks or did not consider them important. Quite the contrary, it is more likely that the intrusion of the Pakistani military plane into Afghanistan's air space on the day of the opening of the talks in Geneva can be qualified as a deliberate flagrant provocation by the Pakistani military with the aim of complicating the situation and impeding the success of the talks.

The new initiatives of the Soviet and Afghan leaders open the road to a prompt settlement of the armed conflict. The establishment of a timeframe for the withdrawal of Soviet troops removes an obstacle that for a long time was portrayed as "the main obstacle" and a "key" to stopping the conflict. The head of the Afghan delegation at the Geneva talks, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan 'Abdul Wakil stated resolve to act in a spirit of good will, in a constructive manner and to press for a compromise "regardless of personal interests and proceeding only from the interests of restoring peace and the Afghan people's wellbeing".

And what about Islamabad? It appears that certain quarters in Pakistan are not interested in stopping the fratricidal war and liquidating one of the most painful and grave regional conflicts. As soon as a genuine prospect of stopping the war appears, they search for means of deteriorating the situation and are not scrupulous in their choice: It might be the sending of planes into Afghanistan's air space, the shelling of Afghan territory or other acts of provocation.

And the question immediately arises: Who prompts these provocations, who is interested in a continuation of the conflict? It is clear that it is neither the Pakistani nor the Afghan peoples.

Afghan-Pakistani Negotiations Resume in Geneva

No 'New Demands' From Afghans

LD021611 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 2 TASS—The Afghan-Pakistani negotiations, which are conducted through Diego Cordovez, personal envoy of the U.N. secretary-general, resumed in the Palace of Nations here today. The Afghan delegation is headed by 'Abdul Wakil, foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, and the Pakistani delegation by Zain Noorani, minister of state for foreign affairs.

The negotiations drew close attention of the world public. An additional one hundred journalists, news analysts, representatives of leading newspaper, radio and television networks of varius countries arrived in Geneva to cover them.

The recent statements by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, opened up a real way towards the speediest political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and ending the long-running and painful regional conflict.

Ahead of the current round the Afghan side has reaffirmed its constructive stance and stated its readiness to exert maxumum efforts to come, relying on the accords reached earlier, to a final agreement. Addressing a press conference here, 'Abdul Wakil emphasized that the Afghan side was not going to put forward any new demands that could hamper the negotiations. It is our conviction that the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, that is the solution of the external aspects of the problem, will provide an additional impetus to solving domestic matters and will also serve as an example in settling other regional conflicts, the head of the Afghan delegation said.

Conversely, the latest statements by the Pakistani side make one think that it intends to set conditions in Geneva, which go beyond the framework of the understandings reached earlier and create fresh hurdles in the way of attaining mutually acceptable solutions.

Observers note that a successful conclusion of the Geneva negotiations would be in the interests of the peoples of Afghanistan and Pakistan as well as of the entire mankind. To this end, it is only necessary that the sense of responsibility, political realism and the determination to put an end to the grave regional conflict take the upper hand.

Addressing a press conference today, Diego Cordovez said that the negotiations are of a complicated and delicate nature and that a whole range of difficult issues are to be solved. Nonetheless, he considers the current round to be a decisive one. The timeframe for the talks was not set but in the opinion of Cordovez they can be concluded sooner than some pessimists predict.

On the question of the composition of a government in Afghanistan, the personal envoy of the U.N. secretary-general stressed that it should be solved by the Afghans themselves rather than at international negotiations. Having studied thoroughly the situation, he holds that the Afghan people got tired of the protracted conflict and are longing for peace.

Cordovez Press Conference

LD021616 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 2 TASS—Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the U.N. secretary-general to Afghan-Pakistani talks, said today he regarded as decisive the just-started round of the talks.

He said he had applied quite an effort to prepare it and was convinced that all the sides involved were seeking to settle the conflict as soon as possible.

Speaking at a press conference in Geneva ahead of the talks, Cordovez said also that they were of a difficult and delicate nature and a whole number of tough matters remained to be settled.

No time limit had been set for the negotiations, but they could end sooner than some pessimists were predicting, the U.N. secretary-general's envoy said.

Touching on the idea of forming a "more representative government" in Afghanistan, he said all the sides agreed that it would help a settlement, but the issue should be decided by the Afghans themselves and not at international talks.

Cordovez said he had studied the situation well and believed the Afghan people had grown tired of the protracted conflict and longed for peace. Most refugees, he added, were eager to return.

Cordovez said that considerable humanitarian aid would be required from the international community to help the Afghans consolidate their independence.

More on Afghan Envoy's Conference

LD021849 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The latest round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks started in Geneva today. A news conference devoted to this event was held in Moscow by Mohammadollah Safi, the Afghan ambassador to the Soviet Union. He said:

[Begin Safi recording in vernacular fading into Russian translation] At the present time favorable prerequisites have been created to solve the Afghan problem. This has come about as a result of the implementation of the course of national reconciliation, announced 1 year ago by the government of Afghanistan, and by the progress achieved at the Afghan-Pakistani talks which have been proceeding for 5 years now. To a large extent, the elaboration of documents covering all aspects of a settlement have been completed. A powerful impulse for the normalization of the situation around Afghanistan was provided by the statements of President Najibullah and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, which helped remove the obstacles on the road of the Geneva talks.

It seems there are no obstacles to successfully concluding them. Nevertheless, the statements from Islamabad are an attempt to retreat from signing accords on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. This is threatening to undermine the Geneva process. Mohammadollah Safi went on to condemn the attempts of opposition groupings to patch together some sort of government representing no-one-knows-who. He noted that a solution of the external aspects of the Afghan problem would create favorable conditions for a settlement of the situation inside the country and the creation of a government with the participation of representatives of the opposition.

The ambassador of Afghanistan stressed that Afghanistan was, is, and will be an independent, neutral state, and an active participant in the Nonaligned Movement. He said that his country is striving to strengthen and deepen its ties with the Soviet Union, its long-standing reliable friend. [end recording]

Pakistani Opposition Stages Rally

LD021155 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Islamabad March 2 TASS—A demonstration and a rally have been held in Karachi, the biggest city of Pakistan. Their participants demanded that the government sign a Geneva agreement on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan at the next round of the non-direct Afghan-Pakistani talks held with the mediation of the U.N. that opens on March 2.

The demonstration was held on the initiative of the Pakistani-Afghan Solidarity Committee. Jam Saqi, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan, Anis Hashmi, leader of the Pakistani Socialist Party, leaders of a number of other progressive political parties of the country marches in the first files. The demonstrators adopted a resolution urging to sign the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan. A historic opportunity that opened up as a result of the decision of the Soviet Union to pull out its troops from Afghanistan should not be missed, and for this reason Pakistan should sign the Geneva agreement. This was stated by Syed Fakhar Imam Shah, opposition leader in Pakistani parliament, at a meeting with journalists. He pointed out that the creation of an Afghan Government acceptable to all the sides should not be put forward as a preliminary condition for the signing of the Geneva accords.

PDPA Official on Troop Withdrawal

LD021226 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest March 2 TASS—"The Afghan people pin much hope on the next round of Afghan-Pakistani talks that start in Geneva today", Najmuddin Akhgar Khawiani, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has said in an interview with the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG.

He pointed out that the national reconciliation policy pursued by the Afghan leadership and a constructive stand of the Soviet Union had paved the way to the settlement. At the moment there are no Soviet troops in 13 out of 29 provinces of Afghanistan. This is a direct result of the national reconciliation policy which is a manifestation of the strength of the present leadership of the country.

Statements of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Najibullah, the Afghan leader, took the Pakistani side by surprise. This is why Pakistan is continually searching for more obstacles on the way to reaching agreement. However, the accords can and must be signed, because both the Afghan people, other peoples of the region and the world in general are interested in it. The present round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva should become the concluding one, Najmuddin Akhgar Khawiani pointed out in conclusion.

'Good Preconditions' for Talks

LD021654 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 2 Feb 88

[Text] We begin today's issue with analyzing prospects for settling regional conflicts in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and the Persian Gulf. First we will single out the Afghan problem, whose solution would exert a positive influence on the search for ways to liquidate seats of tensions in other areas. Here is what Yuriy Solton writes.

When people begin to talk about Afghanistan, many usually ask one and the same question: When will Soviet troops leave that country. As a matter of fact the withdrawal of Soviet troops poses only one aspect of a settlement. The answer to this question now depends largely on the results of another round of indirect Afghan-Pakistani talks that resume in Geneva on 2 March. If participants in the talks sign accords that have already been drafted before 15 March, the Soviet Union, as General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev announced recently, will start withdrawing its troops on 15 May at the latest and conclude the withdrawal within 10 months.

Evidently Islamabad agrees with this new schedule, which was finalized in accordance with the wishes expressed by the parties concerned. At any rate, Islamabad expressed no serious objections in this connection. The date of the Soviet troops withdrawal used to be the major issue causing arguments. Does this mean that a green light has been lit on the path toward a settlement in Afghanistan? I am not 100 percent sure of this, writes Yuriy Solton. What casts doubt on the success of the talks is Pakistan's intention to link the destiny of the accords to the creation of a transitional government comprised of representatives of Afghan counterrevolutionary groupings. According to Islamabad a transitional government must replace the current one, which has been recognized by more than 80 countries.

This negative stance is a major obstacle to success but it seems to me that Islamabad speaks not for itself. The question of an end to outside interference in Afghan affairs is being decided not there but in Washington. The United States agreed to serve along with the Soviet Union as a guarantor that agreements on Afghanistan would be implemented. This means that it agreed to stop military aid to the Afghan antigovernment groupings 60 days after the signing of such agreements. In the meantime the United States Senate issued a resolution, allegedly not binding, that calls for continuing supplying aid until the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

The Reagan administration promised to give the resolution due consideration. Nevertheless, I hope that common sense will prevail after all and the Afghan-Pakistani talks will yield positive results. So far there are good preconditions for this.

Yemeni Group Issues Statement

LD021101 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Aden March 2 TASS—The Yemeni Council for Peace and Solidarity has issued a statement in connection with the resumption of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva.

On behalf of the country's public, the council points out that the proposals put forward of late by the leadership of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union constitute a realistic basis for accelerating the process of restoring peace in that country.

The council urged all peace forces of the region and the world to launch a campaign to expose machinations and conspiracies being woven by imperialist and reactionary circles over the Afghanistan issue. The machinations are aimed at keeping Afghanistan as one of the 'hot spots' of the world, the statement points out.

It is essential to make maximum efforts to thwart the aggressive intentions of imperialism and to put an end to interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign state, the statement emphasizes.

Fighting Continues Despite New Policy

LD030911 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 3 TASS—More than 110,000 Afghan refugees have returned home since the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy by the Afghan Government.

The BAKHTAR news agency points out that over the period 116 opposition armed groups with an aggregate strength of more than 40,000 have downed arms.

However, despite obvious successes of the reconciliation policy, the situation in the country still remains tense. For example, yesterday extremists fired from mortars on residential districts of the town of Meymaneh in Fariab Province. As a result of the barbarous act, a woman and a child were killed, another four people were heavily injured, and buildings were seriously damaged.

In Laghman Province, security forces destroyed six U.S.-made launching installations which had been brought from Pakistan and were intended to hit passenger planes.

In Herat Province, Afghan Army units with the support of local residents routed a counterrevolutionary group which had for long terrorised the population. A large amount of arms and ammunition was captured.

UN Condemns U.S. Closure of PLO Mission

LD022312 Moscow TASS in English 2307 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 3 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

The United Nations General Assembly condemned the arbitrariness of the U.S. authorities with regard to the mission of permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the United Nations. The 42nd session of the General Assembly resumed in connection with Washington's intention to close the PLO mission adopted two resolutions on Wednesday. The resolutions emphasize that in accordance with the U.N. headquarters agreement the United States pledged itself to ensure appropriate conditions for the fulfillment by the PLO mission to the United Nations of its functions. The General Assembly decreed that the International Court, the supreme judiciary body of the United Nations, should draw the conclusion about the arbitration between the United Nations Organization and the United States, whose decision would be obligatory.

One hundred forty three delegations voted for the resolutions. Only Israel, Washington's partner, voted against one of the resolutions. The U.S. delegation refused to take part in the voting.

At a press conference held immediately after the session, permanent observers of the League of Arab States and the Palestine Liberation Organization at the United Nations, Clovis Maksoud and Zuhdi al-Tarazi, assessed the results of the session as showing patently the isolation of the United States in the international arena as a result of its irresponsible and unlawful policy, as the condemnation of the anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian course of the White House. They noted that the USA has an opportunity to restore its damaged prestige, to heed the voice of reason and the calls of the international community.

The representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the League of Arab States expressed gratitude to the participants in the debate at the session of the General Assembly who discussed the question of the United States' unlawful actions in close relationship with the cardinal problem—the destiny of the Palestinian people, the establishment of a fair and durable peace in the Middle East.

They emphasized that the international community pointed out again that the Middle East problem cannot be resolved behind the back of the Palestinian people, without the participation of its sole authentic representative, the PLO, without a prompt convocation of a plenipotentiary international conference. And the so-called peaceful efforts of the USA which places roadblocs in the way of a fair and comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East, which denies the Palestinian people the right to self determination, have an ostentatious character and cannot earn it confidence.

Shultz Mideast Peace Mission Examined

'Deliberate Contradictions'

PM021319 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4-5

[Article by Konstantin Geyvandov under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "Diversionary Maneuvers Again"]

[Text] Let us begin with two of the political statements that have appeared during the Palestinians' revolt in the Israeli-occupied territories, which is now in its 3d

month. The first statement: The U.S. Administration considers that only direct bilateral talks between the interested parties provide the key to establishing peace in the Near East. If an international peace conference would mark a step toward such direct talks, the United States is also ready to discuss its possibility. Regarding the bases for the settlement, the United States has not changed its stance and considers that President Reagan's 1982 initiative still contains correct and acceptable ideas. So said U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in a recent interview in the Egyptian magazine AL-MUSAW-WAR.

The second statement appeared after the meeting between President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy in Damascus. According to a SANA report, the Washington envoy was told during the conversation that the Palestinian revolt reconfirmed the need for the Palestinian Arab people's legitimate rights to be exercised, for Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab lands, and for the achievement of a lasting and just peace in the region. It was stressed that this process should take the form of an international peace conference on the Near East and not a partial separate settlement.

Here, I think, even the untrained eye can see how the stances are virtually completely opposite to each other. While the second, the Arab, stance clearly encompasses the basic elements of the problem generated by the Near East crisis and specifies a way of solving it, the American stance conceals behind its slick phrases deliberate contradictions and ambiguities that lead away from a solution. Or, more accurately, lead to partial separate deals. In actual fact Secretary of State Shultz asserts, for example, that only direct talks between the interested parties provide the key to establishing peace in the Near East. However, neither the U.S. Administration nor the Israeli Government recognizes the PLO, which all others consider to be the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. One wonders who will be negotiating with whom in that case?

So, leaving aside the accepted idea of the "possibility" under certain conditions of organizing an international conference, let us try to remember what was proposed as the basis for settlement by Reagan's so-called initiative, which was proposed in September 1982 after the Israeli aggression against Lebanon. It turns out to be the same old "autonomy" for the Palestinians on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The only thing distinguishing the Reagan initiative from the Camp David accords was the proposal to organize this "autonomy" under Jordanian administration. However, the very idea appeared so seditious to Tel Aviv that the Israeli Government immediately refused to even listen to it.

There is not therefore anything surprising in the fact that all subsequent efforts made by the U.S. Administration in the guise of "organizing the peace process in the Near East" have borne and continue to bear a clearly pronounced Israeli accent, primarily and, as far as possible, solely designed to watch over the interests of its Near East partner. After all, if you look at Shultz' interview, he makes no proposals even to revert to the 1982 Reagan initiative but merely asserts that it contains "correct and acceptable ideas."

However, out of the latest plans for a settlement proposed since the start of the disturbances in the occupied territories only the first point of the five-point initiative of President Mubarak of Egypt, which provides for a halt to the violence on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, has proved acceptable to Washington. When you recall that the U.S. representative vetoed the latest UN Security Council resolution demanding that Israel halt the terror and repression in the occupied territories, it becomes clear that even this point is acceptable to the Americans only because of their desire to suppress the Palestinian revolt as quickly as possible.

And after this, Washington resorted to another maneuver to divert attention from an all-embracing and just Near East settlement. A "new peace settlement for the Near East" has seen the light of day and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Murphy is again getting ready to set out to "sell" it to the leaders of the Arab countries. What is in mind now? The aim is to achieve by September, with the aid of the American intermediary, who will shuttle between Israel and Jordan, an accord between the two countries on limited Palestinian self-government on the West Bank of the River Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. It is then proposed that direct talks between the partners on the definitive status of these territories should follow sometime in December. In other words, the same Camp David scenario, only this time accelerated, since there has clearly been a "delay" of almost 10 years.

But there is no talk, naturally, of any full-scale solution of the Palestinian problem, the Arab people of Palestine's self-determination, or Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967. And the Arab side's reaction was predictable. The PLO, the PLO Executive Committee statement says, rejects America's so-called new Near East initiative and other attempts by the American administration to put an end to the Palestinian revolt on the Israeli-occupied Arab lands. The revolt, it stresses, will continue until the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and a homeland is recognized.

The PLO Executive Committee statement notes that an international peace conference involving the 5 permanent members of the UN Security Council and all interested parties, including the PLO, on an equal basis is the sole acceptable means of settling the Near East problem. The new American "initiative" has been rejected by the governments of Syria and Jordan. It is not without interest to note that even Israeli Foreign Minister S. Peres has described as an unrealistic proposal the

idea of "renewing talks to carry out the Camp David promise regarding Palestinian autonomy" on the occupied West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

The United States and Israel have now been maneuvering for 20 or so years in an attempt to legitimize the policy of aggression and expansion in the Near East and redraw the map of the region to suit them. The ignominious result of such pathetic activity was summed up in recent UN Security Council resolutions, which showed how deeply isolated the American-Israeli allies were. The statement by EEC countries issued the other day, which condemns Israeli troops' repression of Palestinians in the occupied territories and again stresses the need for the "earliest possible convening of a UN-sponsored international conference to ensure an all-embracing, just, and lasting political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict," may be considered to be yet further telling evidence of this fact.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has described regional conflicts as bleeding wounds which could lead to gangrene on the body of mankind. With the desire to establish new thinking in international affairs now the danger of such a turn of events is becoming clearer. It is no wonder, therefore, I think, that the will for and trend toward settling such conflicts and crisis situations by political means is everywhere apparent. This is clearly exemplified in Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war, Kampuchea, and Nicaragua. As for the Arab-Israeli crisis, the world community has long agreed on the need for an all-embracing and just settlement of it at an international conference on the Near East. This has taken the form of relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations year after year.

The responsibility for the failure of these decisions to be implemented thus far lies with the U.S. and Israeli Governments. Is it not therefore time to abandon attempts to continue swimming against the current? There is clearly no better time for this than the present.

Peresypkin's Views Reported

JN030847 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0730 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 3 Mar (WAKH)—A senior Soviet official has ruled out U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz' new tour of the Middle East achieving the desired practical results to resolve the Palestine question. He also ruled out Shultz' carrying constructive proposals and ideas that conform with the legitimate demands of both the Palestinian Arab people and the Arab states.

The newspaper AL-ITTIHAD issued here today cited Oleg Peresypkin, rector of the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as saying that the main objective of the U.S. secretary of state's visit is to help Israel out of its dilemma resulting from the Palestinian popular uprising in the occupied territories. The visit also aims to "convince the Arab states to hold separate talks and meetings with Israel under the umbrella of an international conference for peace in the Middle East".

The Soviet official denied that his country agreed with the United States on a joint formula regarding an international conference during Shultz' recent visit to Moscow. He explained that his country continues to exert efforts to hold an international conference with full powers and with the participation of the five permanent Security Council member states along with all concerned parties in the region, including the PLO.

Shcharanskiy Joins Israeli Army in New Campaign

LD021714 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—BY TASS commentator Yevgeniy Babenko: It's a long time since anything has been heard about Shcharanskiy. And can there be anything new in his life, to think of it? A has-been, he has everything in the past: a Soviet citizenship, conviction for spying, and ultimate expulsion.

But he's still been able to scramble into the news.

Remembering his headline-catching past as a "campaigner for civil rights", Shcharanskiy decided he wanted a repetition and another glamorous campaign. Which one? The most obvious choice for him was, naturally, the Israeli Army's.

On the same day that REUTER news agency carried the news around the globe, other wire services reported that two more Palestinians—Rashid Mahmud Barguti, 17, and Ahmad Ibrahim Barguti, 22—had been killed by Israeli occupation troops mounting yet another attack on Arab demonstrators in the West Bank of the River Jordan.

That brought the number of Arabs killed by Israeli soldiers in the occupied lands in the past two days to nine.

Towards the evening when intrepid recruit Shcharanskiy had already been scolded by his quartermaster-sergeant for turning in a badly cleaned gun at the end of his first shift of combat duty, local television showed his Israeli battle companions—an officer and four privates—brutally beating a Palestinian.

Viewers could see in distinct and vivid detail how the blood-thirsty soldiers under the "supervision" of their commander were trying to crush the detained protester's right wrist.

Israeli radio said later that the uniformed sadists who had gone, even by Tel Aviv's standards, "too far in their zeal" would not be punished at all. That was a matter that General Amram Mitzna, commander of Israel's Central Military District, had personally taken care of.

As he was issued his brand-new Israeli uniform, Shcharanskiy declared pompously that he had finally found his place in life.

Walking on Palestinians' corpses is indeed a logical and natural new campaign in the life of that sham advocate of human rights.

Libyan Envoy Speaks at Friendship Meeting
LD022256 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—"The USSR-Libya Friendship Society also makes its contribution to the noble cause of strengthening and broadening relations between the Soviet Union and Libya", said Vladimir Kochetkov, deputy chairman of the society board and deputy culture minister of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. He spoke at a social function held in the House of Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries here today.

At one with all Soviet people the USSR-Libya Friendship Society sides with the Libyan people in their courageous struggle against the aggressive conspiracies by imperialism and Zionism. Vladimir Kochetkov assured those present that the society would continue developing the traditions of Soviet-Libyan friendship, do everything further to bring our peoples closer together, to forge cooperation between them in the name of peace on earth, progress and happiness of people.

Imperialist forces did not limit themselves to the frenzied propaganda campaign against Jamahiriyah and its leader, 'Abdallah Magrawi, acting secretary of the People's Committee of Libya's People Bureau, said at the function. They went farther by staging on April 14, 1986 the direct armed aggression against Libya with a view to physically liquidating the leader of the revolution, force Jamahiriyah to veer from the independent political course.

We state that we will not swerve off from the chosen path and will not abandon the political course mapped out by the popular congresses proceeding from our free choice. He spoke highly of the USSR's position and its actions to promote peace all over the world and expressed the gratitude of his country's people and its leadership to the Soviet Union for constant solidarity and support for the just cause of the Arab nation.

Jordanian Receives Religious Affairs Delegation
PM031015 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] Amman, 29 Feb—Crown Prince Hasan of Jordan has received the Soviet delegation led by K.M. Kharchev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Council for Religious Affairs, which is here on a visit.

During the conversation, Prince Hasan highly appraised the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy and its contribution to the achievement of a comprehensive, just settlement in the Near East. He indicated the great importance of the results of the meeting between King Husayn and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Moscow last December in the task of ensuring lasting peace in the region, and spoke out in favor of developing contacts between the two countries' Muslim communities.

The delegation also had a meeting with 'Abd al 'Aziz al-Khayyat, Jordanian minister of Islamic Affairs, Holy Places, and Religious Trusts, and other Jordanian Muslims.

Katushev, Afghanistan's Amin Sign Agreement
PM031021 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] Talks with an Afghan government delegation headed by S.'A. Amin were held in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations 26 February. Questions of the further development of Soviet-Afghan economic, technical, and trade cooperation were discussed.

A protocol on the development of cooperation in the construction of projects with participation by the Afghan private sector and other intergovernment documents were signed. They were signed by S.'A. Amin and K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of Foreign Economic Relations.

S.'A. Amin also had conversations in the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry and the Tsentrosoyuz.

Officials Speak at Monument Ceremony in Kabul
PM021935 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 88 Single Edition p 4

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik dispatch: "In Combat and in Labor"]

[Excerpt] Kabul, 22 Feb—A monument to the combat fraternity of Soviet and Afghan servicemen has been ceremonially unveiled in Kabul.

"Long live the unbreakable friendship between the Afghan and Soviet peoples"—these words are inscribed in Russian and Dari on this majestic monument erected in the form of three 30-meter stele crowned by a five-pointed star. The monument unveiling ceremony was attended by party, military, and state figures of the Republic of Afghanistan headed by Najibullah, the country's president, servicemen of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan, Soviet specialists, and residents of the Afghan capital.

"The monument which we are unveiling today is a symbol of the unbreakable friendship and combat fraternity between the peoples and armies of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, whose foundations were laid by the great Lenin and Amanullah Khan," Lieutenant General M. Rafi', member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and Afghan defense minister, said, addressing a rally. "The monument is an expression of the profound gratitude and appreciation of the Afghan working people and their servicemen to the great Soviet people and their courageous sons, the internationalist servicemen—our reliable, tested friends in combat and in labor."

"Guided by the noble principles of good-neighborliness and international solidarity, the Soviet people have given and will continue to give all possible assistance to the long-suffering Afghan people in the struggle for peace and for social and economic progress," Major General A. Zakharov, chief of the political department of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan, emphasized in his speech at the rally. "The new constructive position expressed in the statement of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, graphically attests to the Soviet Union's good will and its sincere interest in the speediest political settlement of the Afghan problem and in ending the bloody war on the ancient Afghan soil." [passage omitted]

Indian Officials Discuss Submarine Delivery

PM021054 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 9

[Own correspondent Yuriy Kulikov report under the rubric "Reporting the Details": "Lunch With a Submarine"]

[Text] Delhi—Leafing through the February WASHINGTON POST file the other day, I came upon a report describing two American reporters' lunch with the president of Pakistan. The subject of the conversation was a Soviet nuclear submarine recently leased to India. "Moscow's decision is bad news for Pakistan and a threat to the whole of the West," the journalists dictated excitedly on the front page, even reproaching the U.S. Congress for indifference to an event for which it would have been worthwhile to cut short their weekend to discuss.

Why did the submarine cause such alarm? Ziaul Haq stated: "India is consumed by the desire to become a superpower. This ambition is in line with the USSR's long-standing attempt to undermine Pakistan... Remove Pakistan, and the Soviets will dominate from Turkey to Vietnam."

Ziaul Haq clearly succeeded in causing alarm in the United States. A specialized military journal reports that on its way to the Indian base at Visakhapatnam, the submarine was tracked by a USAF Orion aircraft. In any event, the submarine, which now belongs to India, has conjured up unconfirmed reports, conjectures, and speculations, such as, for instance, that its nuclear power device is of the "unsafe Chernobyl type."

I visited the headquarters of the republic's Navy and asked for comments on these publications.

"The clearest explanations are to be found here," they told me, handing me an official document. It said that the submarine works on nuclear fuel, but is not equipped with nuclear weapons or with any simulators. This is the first time Indian seamen have had the opportunity to learn to handle ships of this type. R. Gandhi was present at the ceremony when the submarine arrived in Visakhapatnam. Recalling that India has a long coastline which needs defending, he stressed: The Navy must have boats capable of remaining under water for a long time. In this case, nuclear fuel is the only possible energy source. The submarine imposes a special responsibility for protecting the crew and the environment against radiation. At sea and on shore, strict safety rules have been established; paramount attention is devoted to monitoring nuclear waste.

And here is what Admiral J. Nadkarni, Indian Navy chief of staff, reported:

"The number of foreign warships in the northern part of the Indian Ocean has increased recently. In early February alone 120 ships under the U.S., British, and French flags came close to the shores of the subcontinent. The Pakistani Navy is being actively modernized. Islamabad receives types of armaments which the United States rarely makes available to countries not belonging to the NATO fleet. While the threat to the republic exists, it has no option but to strengthen security by every possible measure. India wants to live in friendship with its neighbors, but will do everything necessary to maintain its own combat capability so as to be prepared for any eventuality."

So India is not consumed by the desire to become a superpower and does not dream of "undermining Pakistan." The terror expressed by the man who gave the lunch in Islamabad looks patently staged. Pakistan's military spending in relation to gross national product is twice India's. It amounts to one-third of the budget, and has gone up almost fourfold since General Ziaul Haq

came to power. But why not ask the United States for additional military aid? That was why the lucrative story of expansion "from the Persian Gulf to the shores of China" was born.

Briefs

Protocol Signed With Sudan

Khartoum March 2 TASS—A two-year protocol on cooperation between the Society of Sudanese-Soviet Friendship and the Friendship Society USSR-Sudan has been signed here. The document provides for exchanges of delegations, broadening of cooperation in the scientific, cultural and sports spheres and promoting tourism. The sides will regularly observe national holidays and memorable events in respective countries. The USSR will provide scholarships for Sudanese students wishing to study in the Soviet Union. [Text] *[Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT 2 Mar 88 LD]*

East Europe

Yazov Cables GDR's Kessler on Army Anniversary
PM021729 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister Yazov's greetings message to GDR counterpart on 32d anniversary of the GDR National People's Army]

[Text] To Comrade Army General H. Kessler, GDR minister for national defense

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces and from myself personally I cordially congratulate you and all GDR servicemen on the 32d anniversary of the National People's Army.

In celebrating National People's Army Day together with their comrades in arms, Soviet servicemen demonstrate their firm resolve to assist in every possible way the further development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples and armies of the Soviet Union and the GDR. I express confidence that, in close combat alliance with the armies of the other Warsaw Pact states, our armies will always be ready to honorably fulfill their duty in defense of the cause of peace and socialism.

I wish the servicemen of the National People's Army every success in their honorable military labor for the good of their socialist motherland and in the interests of strengthening the defense might of the community of fraternal socialist countries.

With Communist greetings

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Gromyko Speech to Hungarian Computer Plant
PM021637 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Warm Meetings with Hungary's Working People"]

[Text] Budapest, 26 Feb—A.A. Gromyko, who is on an official friendly visit here, today visited the city of Szekesfehervar which is the home of the "Videoton" enterprise, famous for its computer equipment. He was accompanied by K. Nemeth, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and Hungarian Presidential Council president.

At present the "Videoton" enterprise, which employs about 20,000 people, comprises plants for computer equipment and radio products and a computer scientific research institute.

"Videoton" is an example of a modern plant engaged in the manufacture of output equal to the best examples of world technology. Computing equipment with the "Videoton" brand name is used in the Soviet Union in important national economic sectors like the oil and gas industry, the power supply industry, railroad transport, geology, shipbuilding, and maritime transport.

While at the plant A.A. Gromyko had a conversation with leaders of the megye, the city, and the enterprise. They briefed him on the development prospects of the megye and the city and the growing economic ties with our country.

The distinguished Soviet guest was warmly welcomed by O. Barcs, MSZMP megye committee first secretary. Speaking about the work and concerns of the megye's working people, she noted that Hungarians are most concerned with the preservation of peace. This is why they attach exceptional importance to the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy and its initiatives in the international arena.

"Videoton" General Director J. Kaszmer spoke of the enterprise's present and its production sharing with Soviet plants.

Addressing the participants in the meeting, A.A. Gromyko said: Both our states are socialist. It is impossible to find bonds that are closer than the bonds of socialism linking our countries. Nor is it just for the sake of effect that we say—and you have already mentioned this—that bonds of fraternal friendship exist between the Soviet Union and Hungary.

We are here to demonstrate our good feelings toward the fraternal Hungarian People's Republic. The CPSU, the guiding force of Soviet society, conveys its very best

wishes to your leadership, your people, and Hungary's working class. These ties and bonds of friendship and brotherhood cannot be broken by anyone. They are a great asset of our peoples.

I would like you to know that your collective and your plant are famous in the Soviet Union. We think we must continue to look for ways to ensure no difficulties are created in our relations. Joint efforts must be made to find forms for ties between relevant enterprises and departments, between your plant and our plants.

This is the first idea I would like to emphasize.

Here is the second idea. We profoundly believe there is not a single thinking person in the world who is not interested primarily in questions concerning the way the world will look tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, and in the nearer and more distant future. Will peoples exist in conditions of peace or will they be engulfed in the flames of war and cast into a catastrophe?

These are fundamental questions, dear comrades.

Our efforts are aimed at making a considerable contribution toward the prevention of a catastrophe. We cannot allow it to happen in either a nuclear, a chemical, or any other form. To do everything possible to raise an insuperable barrier in the path of launching war—this is the goal of our policy. We have always striven and will continue to strive for it. But all this will be more effective if we march in solid ranks, shoulder to shoulder with the socialist countries. This is how we are marching.

I think the socialist countries will not let all sorts of propaganda mislead them. Propaganda will not break our ranks. We proceed in rallied ranks, hand in hand, on these issues.

We are on the way to agreement for the sake of disarmament and peace. One must have iron patience to conduct and successfully conclude the talks now under way. You know about this.

What has been done is only a beginning. Generally speaking, the process of struggle will not cease for as long as there are weapons, for as long as there are circles which could use them without caution. This struggle must be waged until that time. There is no alternative. To curtail this struggle means to increase the risk of the danger of war a thousandfold.

Tomorrow we will fly home. We will depart confident that we and Hungary are in the same ranks. This is how it will be tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. The closer we rally our ranks, the more successful will be our cooperation in practical politics and in the economic, trade, and cultural sphere.

I assure the Hungarian leadership that we will not deviate from this path, that we will seek all opportunities to consolidate the achievements and raise our relations to a higher level.

We have good reasons to say on our return that our Hungarian friends in plants, factories, agricultural cooperatives, state farms, and in the Hungarian leadership are fully resolved to continue to strengthen the friendship with our country and the other socialist states. We are one family of comrades in arms in the struggle for peace.

A.A. Gromyko, K. Nemeth, and the people accompanying them toured the computer assembly shop. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman talked with workers and specialists, asked about their life and working conditions, and wished them successes in the improvement of production. At the end of the tour he wrote in the book of the plant's leading team: "I found it extremely interesting to see for myself the activity of your enterprise, flagship of Hungary's electronics industry. 'Videoton' has been and remains a good example of the vitality and mutual advantage resulting from the pooling of efforts by scientists, engineers, and workers from the Soviet Union and Hungary at the frontiers of scientific and technical progress. I wish your remarkable collective great successes in boosting the efficiency and technical standard of production, and wish all team members prosperity."

A.A. Gromyko and those accompanying him returned to Budapest in the afternoon.

The signing of the Soviet-Hungarian joint communique on the results of A.A. Gromyko's visit to Hungary also took place today in the Hungarian Parliament. The document was signed by A.A. Gromyko and K. Nemeth.

An agreement on the establishment and activity of a Hungarian cultural, scientific, and information center in the USSR and a cooperation plan between the USSR Writers' Union and the Hungarian Writers' Association for 1988 were also signed. The agreement was signed by USSR and Hungarian Deputy Foreign Ministers V.P. Loginov and M. Barity. The plan was signed by V.V. Karpov, USSR Writers' Union Board first secretary, and T. Czeresz, Hungarian Writers' Association chairman.

Silayev Confers With Hungarian, Bulgarian Aides

PM021313 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] On 1 March I.S. Silayev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, received in the Kremlin K. Stanilov, Bulgarian minister and "Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment" Association chairman, and Hungarian Industry Minister F. Berecz.

Questions of cooperation among Bulgaria, Hungary, and the USSR in motor vehicle building were discussed during the meeting. N.A. Pugin, USSR minister of the automotive industry, participated in the talks.

Romania's Ceausescu Receives Vedernikov
PM030939 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation in Bucharest"]

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Feb—N. Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and Socialist Republic of Romania president, today received G.G. Vedernikov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, who was on a business visit [delovoy vizit] here 22-26 February at the invitation of the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

In the course of the conversation they examined the prospects of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Romania in metallurgy and rail and sea transport, and discussed questions of production sharing between metallurgical industry enterprises of both countries on a mutually advantageous basis and other problems of mutual interest.

During his visit to Romania G.G. Vedernikov was also received by C. Dascalescu, Socialist Republic of Romania prime minister; and by I. Constaninescu, C. Radu, and S. Andrei, Socialist Republic of Romania deputy prime ministers.

West Europe

Kamentsev, Finland's Sorsa Hold Economic Talks
LD022356 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting took place today in Moscow between the chairmen of the national sections of the standing Soviet-Finnish intergovernmental commission on economic cooperation—Comrade Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Sorsa, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Finland.

Some questions of bilateral economic relations were discussed in the course of a conversation that passed in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere. Participants in the meeting included: Comrade Durasov, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy; Suominen, Finnish minister of trade and industry; and Karkhilo, the Finnish ambassador to the USSR.

Soviet-Irish Trade Union Meeting Ends in Moscow
LD030201 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—Mutual desire to strengthen friendship and solidarity was expressed by the participants in the Soviet-Irish trade union meeting that ended in Moscow today. The delegation of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions headed by General Secretary Donal Nevin stayed four days here at the invitation of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions. The results ended in the signing of an agreement on the creation of a Soviet-Irish trade union committee to promote mutually advantageous trade and economic relations and cultural exchanges between the two countries. A protocol was also signed on cooperation between the two trade union centres in 1988-1989 providing for mutual visits by delegations and exchange of experience of trade union work. In their joint communique the representatives of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions expressed conviction that positive tendencies were gaining in strength in the world arena and that this would decisively depend on the speediest ratification of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and further advance towards nuclear disarmament.

France Returning to NATO 'By Stealth'
PM021535 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article under the "International Notes" rubric by own correspondent V. Bolshakov: "Return by Stealth"]

[Text] Paris, Feb—The other day French television showed a program in which almost 1,000 U.S. Marine officers and men were seen boarding a ship of the 6th Fleet after completing a 2-week exercise on French territory near Limoges. There was no commentary to this program. Clearly one springs to mind.

The French Defense Ministry did not publicize the recent signing of an agreement with the United States under which the Pentagon is henceforth allowed to use French territory for military maneuvers. Such a practice had been completely ruled since 1966, when France left NATO's military organization.

The Limoges maneuvers are just the latest example. The "return by stealth" of France to NATO takes the most diverse forms, above all, in the policy of the Defense Ministry, which is aimed at standardizing military equipment, codes, reconnaissance, ABM early warning systems, and the French Air Force and Navy. For example, last year the French Defense Ministry bought some AWACS aircraft. The French Navy in turn acquired electronic equipment and communications systems from the United States, which now makes it "easier," according to a U.S. admiral, for the U.S. Fleet to

carry out joint operations with the French fleet than with the British fleet. French experts regularly take part in all NATO conferences on the development of new weapons systems.

French marines still do not take part in joint maneuvers with their U.S. counterparts on European territory. This happens further away from the French people's gaze on a small island in the Caribbean, where French ground force units recently held joint maneuvers with the Puerto Rican National Guard. But here is a most typical example of Parisian "high politics": Formally speaking, the maneuvers were held not with U.S. troops but with the military units of a state "freely associated" with the United States.

Cunning ways to circumvent the 1966 prohibitions were sought within the framework of the selfsame "high politics"—in January this year, for example, British troops were allowed to use French ports for maneuvers, transfers, and so forth. For the time being, the formal ban remains on the use of French airspace by NATO military aircraft, which in particular caused complications in relations between the United States and France during the Pentagon bombers' bandit raids on Libya in 1986. But will it remain in force long?

Addressing a conference of defense specialists in Munich in February, French Defense Minister A. Giraud said that the time had come "to take a new look at the foundations of our security and to put our old prejudices aside...." Many people took this as a direct hint of a possible return by France to NATO's military structure in some form acceptable to it. Giraud himself confirmed that indirectly when he stated that France "no longer has any hangups" about cooperating with NATO.

During the presidential election campaign now in progress, the question of the French role in NATO is discussed from time to time without being placed on the agenda by anyone. And the election results will determine to a considerable extent how that question is resolved. Nevertheless, according to the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, even now "as a result of the new thinking demonstrated by France (note how this term is used in NATO circles—V.B.) many of the U.S. officials and congressmen who visit Paris these days return to Washington saying: 'France has become our best ally in Europe.'" Say no more!

Mitterrand Remarks on Arms Issues Cited

PM021419 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "F. Mitterrand Against"]

[Text] Paris, 1 Mar—On the eve of the Brussels NATO Council session at the level of heads of state and government, French President Francois Mitterrand gave an interview to the major provincial newspaper OUEST-FRANCE in which he touched mainly on questions of disarmament and military policy.

In response to a question about the debate in NATO between the supporters of the elimination of short-range nuclear weapons in Europe and those who insist on modernizing them as "compensation" for the elimination of the intermediate-and shorter-range missiles, the president stated that "there is no rush to carry out such modernization." "At a time when the two blocs are entering the disarmament process for the first time since World War II, to build up excessive levels of armaments [provodit sverkhvooruzheniye] would be inopportune and paradoxical," he stressed. "We are trying to secure equilibrium at the lowest possible level."

The president spoke critically of the U.S. position in the military-strategic sphere, condemning, in particular, the U.S. doctrine of "flexible response," which was adopted by NATO more than 20 years ago as official strategy. At the same time, he did his utmost to justify the so-called "deterrence strategy" upheld by France, which is also well known as the "nuclear deterrence" strategy.

F. Mitterrand also advocated close military cooperation between France and the FRG.

On the threshold of the elections, L'HUMANITE writes, F. Mitterrand cannot disregard even verbally French public opinion's support for the disarmament process initiated with the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

FRG Party Draft Shows 'Improvement' in Attitude

PM021715 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 88
First Edition pp 1, 5

[Own correspondent Yuliy Yakhontov dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent's Commentary": "Is There Progress?"]

[Text] Bonn—The draft of a new political document—essentially a resolution of the forthcoming Christian Democratic Union (CDU) congress on foreign policy problems—has been published here. After being discussed by the CDU leadership, this document will be submitted for ratification by the party congress to be held in June.

The aim of the CDU, the draft notes, is to prevent any conflict between East and West and maintain the long peace that Europe has enjoyed within the framework of the Helsinki process.

It states that until "unity in conditions of freedom" (in the terminology of the CDU, this means the unification of the two German states, under the aegis of the FRG, of course—Yu.Ya.) can be achieved, it is essential to develop broad contacts with the GDR along social lines.

"Under certain preconditions," the CDU will not take a negative attitude toward contacts between the FRG Bundestag and the GDR People's Chamber, the document says.

It goes on to indicate the need for the FRG to take a more active part in the process of drawing up a new "Atlantic charter" designed to serve as a guide for future NATO decisions in the foreign policy and disarmament sphere.

The draft indicates that NATO's strategy of "flexible response," including its nuclear elements, must be retained. However, the scale, range, and composition of its nuclear potential and also the modernization of this potential must be redefined and, as a result, disarmament accords set at a lower threshold.

The document envisages the formation of a West European "security union." Within this framework it is proposed to establish an organ with the power to take political decisions. The aim of this is to further deepen cooperation with France in foreign and military policy and also to incorporate the French-British nuclear potential into a West European military system.

With regard to East-West relations, the draft document says that the CDU "is taking the Soviet Union's policy of renewal seriously and wants to use the opportunities this policy presents."

The draft has prompted contradictory responses within the CDU itself and also in the Christian Social Union and other parties. The criticism, mainly from the far right, primarily focuses on the areas where the authors of the document depart from the usual anticommunist, anti-Soviet stereotypes and try as far as they are able to draw realistic conclusions from the present situation in the world. This concerns disarmament problems and East-West relations. It is precisely because of these improvements that the document could to a certain extent, I believe, be considered a step forward in the thinking of the Christian Democratic leadership and a noteworthy improvement in CDU attitudes.

Pochivalov on Developing West Berlin Relations

PM030942 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian
2 Mar 88 p 15

[Leonid Pochivalov article under the rubric "From a Writer's Notebook": "Over There, Behind the Wall"]

[Text] West Berlin and Moscow—To the right and left are the edges of the 4-meter wall, cut cleanly as if with a blade—we are passing "through" the border wall. The neutral zone extends for some 50 meters. Ahead is a sentry box, above it a brightly colored flag, and a board displays the sign, in Russian and other languages: "You are entering the American sector." We are "over there!" I have crossed many borders in my life. This is the strangest. A large chunk of a huge city is hidden behind a stone wall which shuts it off from the other, eastern part of the former capital of the German Reich, from Berlin, now capital of the GDR, and from the entire territory of the first German socialist state. This chunk is called West Berlin—according to the reference books, a special self-governing political formation located in the center of GDR territory and under the occupation regime of the United States, Britain, and France. It is a little island of a different system, a segment of a different color, like a patch in the terrible memory of the past.

Behind the wheel of the car is Yevgeniy Kuzovenko, a young, serious man. He is the USSR's vice consul. Earlier he warned me: You must write thoughtfully about West Berlin! Especially about the wall. Even M.S. Gorbachev was tossed a question by U.S. reporters about the wall. But perhaps it is better not to write about that, about the wall, at all, as if I had not noticed it. At least, that is what one comrade, well informed about political subtleties, tried to persuade me to do before I left Moscow.

"For us, the status of this city is clearly defined in the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, a sensible and well-considered agreement," Kuzovenko stresses. "And the wall is the sovereign affair of the GDR." I promise the vice consul to think strictly in terms of the Quadripartite Agreement. But I have eyes and feelings. How can I not notice the wall, when it exists?

This was my second visit to West Berlin. Thirty-four years ago, the wall did not exist—there was simply a guarded border. Then, I drove here in our new Pobeda car. On the Kurfuerstendamm we went into a cafe for something to eat. In our absence someone punctured the Pobeda's tires and painted a swastika on the hood. Then, in 1954, many streets were still in ruins. The conquerors' inscriptions covered the columns of the Reichstag. The one just below the capital of the column stuck in my mind: "We got here, after all!"—like a sigh of relief.

The former Reichstag building has long since been restored, the inscriptions have disappeared, and the dome from which our soldiers hoisted the victory banner is no longer there. For some reason the FRG flag now flies over the building, and in the evenings its ostentatiously wide canvas—so as to be visible from far away on the other side of the border—is floodlit: The ancient rivalry of the two systems takes place in symbols, too.

In the rooms of the Reichstag, there is an exhibition about Germany's history. First, we went into rooms devoted to the period in the history of the German state that ended with the taking of the Reichstag. How is it protrayed? Objectively? For understandable reasons, suspicion toward the German West is firmly rooted in us: What if revanchism is revived? I was prepared beforehand to find that the truth was concealed. No,

everything seems fair! Photographs, quotations, and figures objectively demonstrate the criminal nature of fascism and its fall, culminating in the raising of the banner of victory over the Reichstag. There is the celebrated photograph of that historic flag-raising, on the main stand.

"I think the exhibition is entirely fair...." Kuzovenko's voice has a note of surprise. And we are both glad that it is "fair," without prejudice.

All the same, this is just a first impression. We look more carefully. True historical objectivity will not tolerate concealment. But it is here. We examine stand after stand. On the postwar partition of Germany—the partition of Berlin—there is almost nothing. As if it had not happened. Adenauer smiles at the visitors from the stand. He is well represented here: a historic figure for Germany. Indeed, he left a notable imprint on history: He was one of the main inspirers of the partition.

The Potsdam agreements clearly defined the future of this land: a united, de-Nazified, demilitarized, peace-loving, independent, and democratic Germany, living in good-neighborliness with both West and East. That is the kind of Germany our country wanted. Year after year, the USSR undeviatingly upheld this position, which is fair to all Germans. But the Potsdam agreements were flouted. The United States needed a military bridgehead in Europe; a truly peace-loving Germany did not suit them. "Perhaps not the whole country, only part of it, but it will be our part." That is what Dulles thought, and that is how Adenauer acted. Dulles' idea of "rolling back communism" was tried out, first of all, in relation to the German land. The hope was that "their" Western part would rapidly undermine the Eastern part of the country politically and economically, and would then swallow it up. First "defensive" economic measures, then introduction of an independent currency, and finally proclamation of the Western part of Germany as an independent state—the FRG. "The partition of Germany took place contrary to the Yalta and Potsdam accords. So the wall appeared earlier than you think," M.S. Gorbachev said, answering an American journalist's question.

The exhibition is silent about all that. Yet it is visited by thousands of tourists, especially young people. They leave these rooms convinced that their fatherland had suffered much adversity, it so longed for peace, and Germany had everything it needed to become peaceful and united. And then...the wall! In close proximity to the former Reichstag. It divides the country's former capital, it runs invisibly from north to south over the whole breadth of the German land, dismembering it, dividing a once united people. Who is to blame? It is quite clear who: the Russians and their friends from the GDR! And they do not know that one of the originators of this division was that same old man, his face creased in a smile, who looks out at them, surrounded by an aura of greatness, from the exhibition stand.

Following yet another group of young Germans, we leave the building, and our gaze falls on the wall. But here, its outer aspect. On the other, Eastern side it is whitewashed clean, like a natural component of the urban landscape, but here the many colors dazzle your eyes. Every city has tourist sights. Here one of them is the "Berlin wall." I read in a Western newspaper: "If it were not there, the city Senate would not receive such a substantial income from tourists." Everyone who comes to West Berlin is brought here. Many consider it their duty to leave on the wall an inscription, as a souvenir of their visit. First, there was a clear purpose to the tradition inspired from above: to turn the "Berlin wall" into a target of anti-GDR propaganda. This is indicated by the inscriptions: "Better to be born in the West than the East," "The free world protests!", "Down with the closed society!" But over the years, border tension has lessened, and the wall has become purely a tourist sight. "Marget! I love you!", "I love you, too, Hans." "The Birmingham Three were here...." Man is born not for enmity but for life. And human life is coexistence.

Viewing platforms have been set up along the wall for tourists. They bring here important foreign guests who come to the FRG, those who allow themselves to be "persuaded" to set foot on West Berlin soil, too, as if it were a continuation of FRG territory. Last year President Reagan looked in on West Berlin. From this platform he delivered a speech, extending his hand toward the GDR capital. He appealed to M.S. Gorbachev: Prove your adherence to detente, he said, knock down the wall! In form this was a theatrical presentation; in essence, it was an inflammatory act, directed precisely against the spirit of detente.

GDR First Deputy Foreign Minister Herbert Krolikowski, in answer to my question, described the causes of the appearance of the "Berlin wall" in 1961: "The border between territories depands on what kind of relations exist. The wall grew up at a time when the situation was becoming dangerous, in the military and economic sense. Even now, when our relations with West Berlin are being normalized, not a day goes by without border provocations. If this defensive structure did not exist, there would be more provocations. As a result of economic expansion, the GDR suffered damage to the tune of M200 billion. The undermining of our economy continues to this day. But despite all the difficulties, the GDR is prepared to further normalize relations with West Berlin. Economic and cultural contacts are widening, and many inhabitants from each side visit each other."

All the same, this is a state border protected by law. Not far from the wall is a wooden cross. On it is the name of one who tried to violate the law. Behind the mighty columns of the Brandenburg Gate is the land of the GDR. A broad, busy highway can be glimpsed, the celebrated Unter den Linden. Once, it cut through the center of the German capital and stretched like an arrow into its Western part. The Hitlerites brought their troops

onto this street for parades. From here the troops left for the war. Alas, the cult of enmity is tenacious; it has its roots in past times. Ultimately this wall grew out of the irredeemable guilt of fascism, whose madness condemned the German land to the violation of war and partition, the guilt of those who, after the war, disregarded the lessons of history. Do the German boys and girls standing next to me understand that? They have fallen silent, as if they were facing a sorrowful obelisk, a reminder of irrecoverable losses. They are young and blameless, but there is an inherited national responsibility. It is up to them, the young, to ensure that this responsibility guards against new losses.

There is a viewing platform on the other side of the wall as well. There, too, people gaze. This time, at West Berlin. Germans gaze at Germans. It is hard to remain aloof from what surrounds you. On the wall, someone has written: "Maria, where are you?" I look over the wall to the "other" Berlin, where I came here from, where I have so many friends.... I am sad. Will the day never come when peoples, individuals, and their destinies are no longer separated by striped barriers, barbed wire fences, and walls?

Not far from the Reichstag rises a granite structure that is rather unexpected here. The tourist buses slow down here—this, too, is a recognized tourist sight. The cameras click; the movie cameras hum. But the buses cannot stop. The approaches are guarded by police with dogs. On top of the obelisk is a bronze soldier, my compatriot, extending a peacemaking hand over the earth. On the granite are the names of those who fell in 1945. At the foot of the obelisk, two soldiers stand motionless in their gray Russian caps with ear-flaps that look so unusual here. "We got here, after all!" They got here, and here they stand, the three of them—one bronze, two living—day and night, for decades now, as if to protect not only the peace of the fallen but also the peace of the city. And the police with the dogs protect those two men. Once, they were shot at. The hatred inherited from the past is ready to pull the trigger even today.

From the border zone, the highway leads into the business part of the city. West Berlin is a vast city; it has spread widely and freely, absorbing densely populated quarters, parks, lakes, even three airfields. You think with respect of the people who would not be reconciled to the blind violence of the war, which erased the former face of their city, one of the most beautiful in Europe. Now the city looks more solid than ever. In its trading sector the buildings compete for the ostentationsness of their facades; the lower stories are encircled with a mirror ring of store windows. Propaganda has christened West Berlin the "store window of the free world." And people invest money here not only for the sake of commercial business. The FRG throws 12 billion marks a year into West Berlin; therefore, it lays special claim to it, too. Many things here are the same as in the FRG—the money, the police, the organization of power. But behind the facade is the backyard. In this capitalist island there is everything characteristic of capitalism: store windows packed full of goods for those who have money, the lost figures of the unemployed at the intersections. Here they are more than 10 percent of the total number of people of working age, drug addicts with glazed eyes under the canopies of the city railroad station, the notorious "Turkish ghetto" where foreign workers live and where it is dangerous for a young girl to go at night.

Nearly everything is like it is over there, 200 km from here, where FRG territory begins. Nearly everything... But there are differences.

I met with Horst Schmitt, chairman of the West Berlin SED. The city's population, he said, has always reacted sensitively to the world situation. Any exacerbation is reflected more here than in the FRG. The siting of missiles in the FRG particularly worried the West Berliners. They knew there were missiles in the GDR, too, so West Berlin seemed to be in the sights of two missile fronts. If a missile falls on Dresden, it falls on West Berlin. That is why there was such a powerful movement in the city against the siting of missiles in the FRG. Hundreds of thousands of people took part. Now they see that their efforts were not in vain. The inhabitants of West Berlin have wider horizons than people in the FRG. The lie about the threat from the East is not very successful now; people here are becoming increasingly aware that the city's security can be ensured only through cooperation—not only with the West, but also with the East—on condition of compliance with the Quadripartite Agreement. And that makes its mark on their mentality....

I was in West Berlin just when the good news of the signing of the first disarmament agreement between the United States and the USSR was being widely discussed. The newspapers, television, and movie theaters reacted eagerly— even trade reacted. In one supermarket I saw souvenir T-shirts depicting the flags of the USSR and the United States and two hands clasped in a handshake. The assistant told me: "People are buying them eagerly. Why eagerly? Because we are fed up of being a front-line city."

The villa housing the USSR consulate general in West Berlin is located in the Zehlendorf region. It has been here since 1973 and in that time has experienced to the full all the whims of the international political climate. A bomb was planted in the consulate building, the glass in the windows was broken, telephone threats were made, hostile rallies were held at the gate, and Soviet citizens were subjected to provocations in the streets. The situation is changing now. A good many people assemble at the consulate in the mornings, waiting to be received. There are more and more tourists wanting to see the USSR. Former Soviet citizens also come here more often. Many have submitted applications to return home.

"We, too, have a restructuring," the consulate employees told me. "What is happening at home opens up new opportunities for us too." Rudolf Fedorovich Alekseyev, USSR consul general in West Berlin, came here relatively recently. He is a doctor of science, he has devoted many years to German studies, he knows the Germans well, he places a high value on many aspects of their national character, and he is an active supporter of good-neighborliness. He has proclaimed competence and friendliness toward those among whom he works as the style of all consular work. "Doing good—for good!"

In the city's biggest concert hall, I witnessed the ovation with which the audience greeted a performance by Soviet artists. Ye.G. Kuzovenko, who was at the concert with me, noted with satisfaction: "That is an echo of the changes taking place in our country. You see how friendly they are! It is possible to come to an understanding with them." Possible, and necessary! Many people here told me how destructive the enmity was, how years were wasted in confrontation when ignorance and lack of understanding turned to belligerent hostility.

On the freeway Kuzovenko braked a little, especially to allow me to take a better look at a not very remarkable factory building with a tall chimney. "The main heating plant," he explained. "It works on our gas. Just imagine, Siberia heating West Berlin!" In another part of the city, on the roof of a block, I saw a flashing Aeroflot advertisement, and in a department store, an exhibition of Soviet goods. A Soviet trade bureau has appeared here.... But as yet there is not very much evidence of our economic ties. There is more of cultural ties. The USSR has become a traditional participant in international events like the West Berlin movie festival, the contest for television programs, and the H. Karajan music competition. People here are becoming increasingly accustomed to stars from the USSR. They have just seen off the Oystrakh family, and not long before them were A. Pugacheva, N. Gutman, B. Okudzhava, and E. Klimov. There were also performances by the "Virtuosi of Moscow" orchestra and the Orenburg choir. So there are many opportunities for good-neighborliness. It is only necessary to use them more boldly.

The consul general invited me to accompany him to the Spandau fortress, one of the few creations of the distant past that survive here. In 1945 the Hitlerite garrison entrenched itself in the fortress. Our envoy Vladimir Gal managed to make his way into the enemy camp and persuade it to surrender. The fortress was saved. This story has never been forgotten here. After the long years of "cold war," different times are coming. Gerd Steinmoeller, one of the leaders of the local council, has decided to restore the halls and galleries and adapt them for today's needs. Energetic and businesslike, he took us around the fortress and told us about his plans. Once, this ancient fortress, in a terrible year of war, was saved by words of peace—let peace be asserted within its walls! Here there will be stages for artists, playgrounds for children, halls for exhibitions; there has already been one—about the USSR. Only the embrasures in the walls recall the military past. It is a pity there are no cannons. There were, once.... Two of them are now in...Khabarovsk. In the courtyard of the regional museum there, tourists from the FRG found ancient cannons that were cast in Spandau fortress and made their way, no one knows how, to the other end of the continent back in the last century. Steinmoeller has written to Khabarovsk: Send us at least one of them for a while. We will restore it, exhibit it for everyone to see, and then send it back, all at our expense. They refused. What a pity! In our day even an ancient cannon can serve the cause of peace.

On the way from the fortress, R.F. Alekseyev suddenly stopped the car on the verge of a busy highway. "A remarkable place!" he said. "For thinking."

We got out of the car. Before us stretched a wire mesh fence. Behind the fence was solid gloom. There was nothing to see. Until recently the gloomy walls of Spandau prison rose up here, behind which Hitler's associate Rudolf Hess served out his life sentence. Last August he took his own life. By international agreement, after Hess' death the prison was to be destroyed so that nobody could turn its walls into a symbol of revanche. That is why behind the high fence today, it is pitch dark and deserted. Like a reminder of the past.

That evening I returned to the GDR. Yevgeniy Kuzovenko drove me again. "Of course you must write about West Berlin," he said. "Our press was silent for years...." Then he added what I already knew: "Only write thoughtfully; consider every aspect...." He is right: competence first! Young, energetic people who know their job work at the consulate general. You can believe they will do everything right. Thoughtfully and in the spirit of the time. It is clear to all of them that our policy, too, in this unique political enclave, needs more flexibility, goodwill, and willingness to overcome old stereotypes. They expect the same willingness from the West.

We traveled along the highways of West Berlin beneath strings of New Year lights, then the highways of the GDR capital stretched out before us, and they too were illuminated by inviting lights in anticipation of the holiday. An hour later, I boarded a train bound for the East. The train sped across the plain over which there stretched first German land, then, beyond the Oder, Polish, and then, beyond the Bug, ours. And everywhere the lights receded into the distance.

Spanish CP Congress Theses, Program Summarized
PM030903 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA and TASS correspondents V. Chernyshev, R. Serebrennikov report: "At the Spanish Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] Madrid, 20 Feb—The 12th Spanish Communist Party (PCE) Congress continued work here today. The majority of delegates to the forum voted in favor of

approving the Central Committee report presented by G. Iglesias, general secretary of the PCE. The working commissions have begun to discuss political theses and the draft strategic program.

The program analyzes the current situation in the world and the profound crisis being experienced by the capitalist system. The growing militarization of the capitalist economy still further increases the danger of nuclear conflicts breaking out.

The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is a historic event. However, there are still strategic nuclear missiles in the world, the United States is maintaining its course to implement the "Star Wars" program, and the governments of European NATO countries are trying to expand and renew their arsenals of conventional weapons. At the same time, pressure from antiwar movements and the Soviet Union's policy have engendered new hope and changed the situation in the world.

With the arrival of the new leadership, the document says, Soviet policy, including foreign policy, has taken on new dynamism in connection with the democratization of Soviet society and the development of new political thinking.

The PCE, the document says, is the political vanguard of the Spanish working class and progressive forces, which have set themselves the aim of strengthening and developing democracy in the country, effecting the socialist transformation of Spanish society, building communism, and struggling for peace and socialism in Europe and throughout the world. The PCE bases its activity on revolutionary Marxist teaching with regard for the experience of socialist revolution which was initiated by the October Revolution under V.I. Lenin's leadership and the experience of the workers movement.

The PCE supports a policy of peace and security, the elimination of American military bases in Spanish territory, non-nuclear status for Spain, and the withdrawal of all fleets from the Mediterranean.

The congress documents also condemn the "Paris-Bonn axis."

The political theses and draft strategic program analyse the development of Spanish society in the last 10 years. They note the PCE's large contribution to the process of eliminating the legacy of Francoism and restoring democracy and also the mistakes made by the party in this period. The documents outline the basic guidelines for PCE activity in the struggle for the interests of the working people and social progress and socialism in Spain.

Activities Detailed

PM021115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Chernyshev and TASS correspondent R. Serebrennikov report: "Spanish Communist Party Congress Ended"]

[Text] Madrid, 21 Feb—The 12th Spanish Communist Party [PCE] Congress completed its work today late in the evening. Its delegates stood up and sang the "Internationale."

The congress approved the political theses and strategic program—the documents determining the party's aims and tasks in the struggle for the vital interests of the working class, the working people, for the social transformation of Spanish society, democracy, socialism, for peace, detente, and disarmament. The document adopted provides an analysis of party activity over the period since 1982, its successes, shortcomings and defeats. In the document are measures are outlined which are directed at expanding PCE membership, and at strengthening and expanding the "United Left" coalition as an government alternative.

The congress delegates expressed firm support for the policy of transformations and restructuring being carried out in the Soviet Union, which is of tremendous international significance, welcomed the Soviet innovative initiatives aimed at curbing the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, and the creation of a nuclear-free world, and rated highly the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as an "historic agreement for real disarmament." In the program approved, the congress came out in favor of nationalizing the leading private banks, opposed the domination of foreign capital in key sectors of the national economy, advocated development of state planning of the economy and the cooperative movement, expansion of the population's participation in political life, adoption of effective measures to eradicate terrorism in the country, creation of a system of secular, democratic and free education, and came out in favor of ensuring environmental protection.

The congress noted particularly the importance of achieving unity among the ranks of the Spanish Communist movement, which will have extraordinary significance for the future of the left-wing forces in the country.

As one of the PCE's basic aims the congress scheduled a stepping up of party work among the masses, and among the peace movement, ecologists, women, students, and cultural figures.

The congress expressed concern as regards the party's difficult financial position and recommended adopting measures to increase the circulation and distribution of the PCE's central organ, the weekly MUNDO OBRERO.

The congress delegates elected the new PCE Central Committee.

Cyprus President Vasiliou Cited on Policy

PM021425 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent G. Shakhunyan: "Cyprus: G. Vasiliou Is the New President"]

[Text] Nicosia-Athens—Georgios Vasiliou has been elected president of Cyprus for the next 5 years.

Running as an independent candidate, he obtained the support of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL), left-wing socialist forces, and a number of trade union organizations.

In the second round of the presidential election G. Vasiliou obtained 51.63 percent of the vote.

He gained victory over leader and founder of the right-wing conservative Democratic Rally party G. Kliridhis. You will recall that S. Kiprianou, has occupied this top state post for the past 10 years, was knocked out of the race after the first round of voting, only finishing third of the four contenders.

In a statement made immediately the official results of the election were made known, G. Vasiliou stressed his adherence to the previously announced program for the country's socioeconomic development and to a just and viable settlement of the Cyprus problem. This settlement, according to him, would envisage the withdrawal of all Turkish forces from Cyprus and the granting to all citizens—Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots—of the right of freedom of movement, residence, and owership of property anywhere in the republic.

G. Vasiliou drew attention to the need to create a climate of mutual trust and sincerity in relations between the two communities in order to have fruitful talks.

In conversation with your correspondent, G. Vasiliou said that the Republic of Cyprus will continue the course proclaimed by the country's first president—Archbishop Makarios—of nonalignment with military blocs and step up Cyprus's participation in the Nonaligned Movement.

G. Vasiliou expressed satisfaction with the successful development of his country's relations with the Soviet Union. He stressed the fitness [gotovnost] and timeliness of the Soviet proposals on convening an international conference on Cyprus which could examine the foreign policy aspects of the problem and provide a Cyprus settlement with reliable international guarantees.

G. Vasiliou stated with satisfaction that the detente that has been apparent recently in international relations, a result of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the Soviet Union's implementation of a policy of new thinking in the international arena, will undoubtedly have a positive effect on the process of settlement of regional conflicts, in particular on Cyprus.

Briefs

Contract With British Firm

Moscow March 2 TASS—The USSR foreign trade association Technopromimport signed here today a contract with the British Simon Carves to a sum of 274 million roubles. Under the contract a plant for the manufacture of 25,000 programmable controllers a year will be built in the capital of Soviet Armenia, Yerevan, in 1988-1991. Simon Carves started doing business with the USSR over 30 years ago. Over this period the firm has built in the Soviet Union chemical factories, enterprises for the production of mechanical rubber in various cities. The firm is specifically prepared to offer Soviet partners know-how and to build enterprises for the food industry and other branches. [Excerpts] [*Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 2 Mar 88 LD*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Pshenichnikov Reviews 'Tense' Panama Situation

LD021222 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 2 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov reports:

A tense situation keeps on in Panama. It has been brought about by attempts made by right-wing opposition, which acts at U.S. bidding, at provoking chaos as well as by the U.S. Administration's provocative decision taken last Tuesday to "reserve the right" to apply new economic sanctions against Panama in future. Earlier the United States had already discontinued economic, financial and military aid to Panama.

Political analysts described the Reagan administration's measure as an "economic Sword of Damocles". Such decision by the United States caused a further aggravation of Panamanian-U.S relations and growing anti-American sentiments in Panama. Several hours prior to the announcement of the decision by the White House, Panama's new President Manuel Solis Palma stated that his government was prepared to resist the U.S. Administration's measures.

The Panamanian Government, he emphasized, will tirelessly struggle to maintain national independence. Panama is prepared to resort to any measure and to apply for help to any country without exception in order to find means and support with a view to saving the country, the president said.

Manuel Solis Palma described Washington's anti-Panama policy as a brutal aggression which had provocked a political and economic crisis in the country.

Last Friday, by a decision of the country's government, Manuel Solis Palma took the place of President Eric Arturo Delvalle who, under U.S. pressure and in breach of the Constitution, had tried to dismiss Brigadier General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defence Forces, who is known for his patriotic views.

It has also become known here that a number of countries recalled their ambassadors from Panama for consultations. Commenting on the fact, Jorge Abadia Arias, Panamanian minister of foreign affairs, has stated that Panama does not intend to put pressure on any country to secure recognition of the Panamanian Government which is now headed by the new president.

The minister voiced confidence that all countries would recognize the new authorities of the country because the changes in the leadership of Panama were based on the Constitution.

In Panama, the independence and sovereignty of the people of that country are now at stake. Panama is a victim of a conspiracy of the United States which seeks to deprive the Latin American state of sovereign rights. The PRENSA LATINA news agency reports from Panama that this was stated in a Panamanian television interview by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic.

The Cuban leader emphasized that to censure the Government of Panama and to isolate it now would mean to play up to the U.S. policy.

The events in Panama, Fidel Castro pointed out, are not a dispute between individual persons, not an internal conflict, and not a manifestation of legal problem but the result of a conspiracy and an attempt at depriving the Panamanians of the right to own the Panama Canal, the right which is recorded in the Panama Canal treaties between Panama and the United States.

Right-wing opposition organization, the National Civil Crusade, which operates in collusion with the U.S. Embassy, continues to urge private entrepreneurs and population to join the anti-government strike. The purpose of the strike is to destabilize the situation in Panama, to make Brigadier General Noriega depart from political activities, and to create conditions for the advent to power of a government obedient to the United States. However, only some private-owned companies are taking part in the strike.

Last Tuesday the supporters of right-wing opposition tried to provoke unrest in the country. However, they did not receive support on the part of the population. The people expresses support for the authorities and the patriotically-minded military.

Brigadier General Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defence Forces, had a meeting with representatives of all national trade union associations which stated their unreserved support for the Panamanian authorities' policy in defence of the country's independence.

These days political analysts continuously emphasize that the Washington administration's provocative actions with regard to Panama pursue the aim of frustrating the implementation of the Panama-USA treaties on the Panama Canal.

Under the treaties signed in 1977 by President Jimmy Carter and General Omar Torrijos Herrera, the United States should withdraw its troops, which play the role of a "big stick" in Central America, from the Panama Canal Zone by the year 2000. Under the treaties, the Panama Canal itself is to be turned over to Panama's full jurisdiction by the turn of the century.

Besides, Panama's independent policy in the international arena, and, in particular, the country's participation in the activities of the Contadora Group working for a political solution to the Central American conflict does not suit the White House either.

'Enhanced Activity' Seen at U.S. Base in Panama

LD011542 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] San Jose March 1 TASS—According to reports reaching here, an enhanced activity is observed at the U.S. Howard Base in the Panama Canal Zone. Since yesterday there is an increased number of flights of helicopters stationed at the base, as well as C-130 "Hercules" heavy aircraft capable of carrying landing troops and armoured vehicles.

The Panamian television broadcast a statement of representatives of the National Defence Forces which emphasizes the resolve of the military to oppose the "trade blockade" and diplomatic pressure of the United States on Panama.

Nicaraguan Defense Minister To Talk With Contras

LD030907 Moscow TASS in English 0751 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 3 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua announced today the appointment of Defense Minister Humberto Ortega to lead the Nicaraguan delegation at the government's talks with the chieftains of armed counter-revolutionaries.

After meeting with Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, mediator in the ceasefire negotiations, he told newsmen that the government had suggested holding the next round of the talks, originally slated to take place on March 9-11 in Guatemala, as scheduled, but in the Nicaraguan border settlement Sapos near the border with Costa Rica.

The president said the government's readiness for the talks testified to its keen interest in an early end to bloodletting and in national reconciliation in line with the commitments it had made by signing the Guatemala agreement.

It also demonstrated, he added, the government's good will, despite repeated attempts by the contras and internal reactionaries to thwart the talks.

Ortega expressed the hope that the counter-revolutionaries' leaders would accept the latest proposal and thus contribute to an end to the war in Nicaragua.

Planned UK Maneuvers in Falklands Criticized
LD011313 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0910 GMT 1 Mar 88

["British Maneuvers in the South Atlantic—a Destabilizing Factor"—TASS headline]

[Excerpts] Moscow 1 Mar (TASS)—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

There is less than a week to go before the start of the large-scale military maneuvers planned by Britain in the area of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. The official aim of the maneuvers is to fly troops to the archipelago from Britain in the event of "an emergency". This reason is hardly likely to suit anyone because the Argentine Government has repeatedly stated that it does not intend to use force in resolving the argument about sovereignty over the Malvinas and, in accordance with a UN appeal, has proposed that this argument be resolved through talks.

The events of 6 years ago are still fresh in our memory. A British expeditionary force seized the archipelago by force of arms and restored its colonial status. During the time that has elapsed since then, a major military base has been set up there equipped with installations for launching missiles and with radar tracking stations. A new landing strip has been built, which can accomodate heavy aircraft. Two thousand British troops are garrisoned on the islands. During the military exercises, there are plans to transfer another 5,000 British soldiers to the archipelago as well as aircraft, helicopters, tanks, and other combat equiopment. [passage omitted]

Attention is drawn to the duplicitous position of the United States on the Malvinas issue. Washington declares itself in words to be an intermediary in this conflict, while in practice it is doing nothing to settle it. Furthermore, a ceremony was held in London not long ago, recalling the unseemly role played by the United States during the war in the South Atlantic 6 years ago: Caspar Weinberger, former U.S. defense secretary, was presented with a high award for his "invaluable contribution to safeguarding victory over Argentina...."

Diplomatic circles in Moscow take the view that these maneuvers are counter to the interests of normalizing the situation in the South Atlantic and are not in accordance with the aim to create a zone of peace and cooperation in the region. The Soviet Union adheres to its principled position favoring the speediest settlement of the problem of the Malvinas Islands through serious talks between Argentina and Britain based on the UN Charter and appropriate General Assembly resolutions.

Tolstykh, Cuban Academician Discuss Cooperation
PM021309 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] On 1 March B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, received N. Toledo Hernandez, first vice president of the Cuban Academy of Sciences.

Questions of further deepening and broadening scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Cuba were discussed during the talks.

Political & Social

More on Azerbaijan, Armenian Unrest

Demirchyan Message Published

PM021335 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 23 Feb 88 p 2

["Speech by K.S. Demirchyan, First Secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, on Armenian Television on 22 February 1988"—KOMMUNIST headline]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Circumstances dictate that I should address you.

As you know, rallies in support of the request of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast that it should be incorporated in Soviet Armenia have been held in Yerevan's Opera Theater Square over the last few days. The rallies adopted appeals to republican and union leadership organs on this matter.

The situation prevailing at this moment around Nagorno-Karabakh is politically serious. Any superficial approach toward it may do great harm to relations between nations and the friendship between our peoples. The situation which has developed is worrying and demands of us all lofty responsibility and the adoption of the most vigorous measures to prevent a development of events which could lead to unpredictable and even almost irreparable consequences.

The CPSU Central Committee has comprehensively discussed events in Nagorno-Karabakh. Actions and demands pursuing a revision of the existing national-territorial structure in this region are contrary to the interests of the working people of the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's. We have been instructed to take the necessary coordinated measures to remedy the situation.

It is necessary to do everything to perform the responsible task set by the party Central Committee. All means of political and ideological influence must be directed toward explaining Lenin's nationalities policy and its essence at the present stage. In all this work we must proceed from the premise that the nationalities question demands that thorough and constant attention be paid to national specific features, psychology, and consideration of the working people's vital interests.

Our party attaches exceptionally great importance to the development of national relations at the present stage. A CPSU Central Committee plenum will be specially devoted to the problem of nationalities policy. "Today," Comrade M.S. Gorbachev noted at the Central Committee February plenum, "we speak of the growth of national self-awareness among all nations and ethnic groups in our country and manifestations of national feelings (which sometimes emerge in a distorted form). All these are vital questions and they must be solved."

I would like to inform you that the Central Committees of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the Armenian Communist Party and these republics' Councils of Ministers have been instructed to elaborate the necessary socioeconomic measures which must be taken in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee calls on the republic's labor collectives, their party organizations, all Communists and working people, and our young people to display lofty political and civic consciousness.

The friendship of peoples is our invaluable asset and the guarantee of the Armenian people's continued blossoming in the united family of Soviet brother-peoples. We must preserve this friendship like the apple of our eye, we must tirelessly strengthen it with our labor for the benefit of the socialist fatherland and enrich it with new and specific patriotic deeds.

Our people's history has its heroic and its tragic pages. Our people's history abounds in bright pages of genuine international brotherhood, mutual respect, good-neighborliness, and cooperation with the Transcaucasus peoples and the peoples of our entire great motherland.

Our people's history abounds in glorious revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions.

These are our abiding spiritual values.

Today, in these crucial days, it is our patriotic duty to prevent any rash steps which could cast a shadow over all this.

Once again we appeal to all citizens of Soviet Armenia: Display at this crucial time courage, vigilance, patience, political maturity, and lofty organization and join more actively in creative work to restructure all aspects of our social life and strengthen the international brotherhood of the Soviet peoples.

Razumovskiy Addresses Nagorno Aktiv

PM021551 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 23 Feb 88 p 2

[AZERINFORM report: "Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Party Aktiv"]

[Text] An oblast party aktiv was held in Stepanakert 22 February. It discussed urgent measures to eliminate the negative phenomena which have occurred in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

The aktiv was addressed by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Recently, he said, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other central organs have been receiving letters and statements from the Armenian population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast requesting that the oblast be joined to the Armenian SSR. In Nagorno-Karabakh itself there have been demonstrations [vystupleniye] during which the same demands have been made. I have to say that the CPSU Central Committee regards the actions and demands aimed at revising the existing national and territorial arrangement as contrary to the interests of the working people of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's. They harm their national relations and unless responsible measures are taken now they may have grave consequences.

All this became possible through the irresponsible appeals and actions of individuals as well as the passive, wait-and-see stance adopted by the party and soviet organs of the republics in question, whose leadership evaluated the situation superificially.

The CPSU Central Committee has instructed the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau to take the necessary coordinated measures to normalize the situation and to direct all their means of political and ideological influence into explaining Lenin's nationalities policy and its essence at the present stage. All work must be based on the premise that the nationalities question demands that close, constant attention be paid to national characteristics, psychology, and consideration of the vital interests of working people. Full responsibility for normalizing the situation is borne by those republics' Communist Party Central Committee Bureaus and by Comrades K.M. Bagirov and K.S. Demirchyan, first secretaries of those Central Committees, in person.

The formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast was a great achievement of Lenin's nationalities policy. The fraternity of the peoples proclaimed by the October Revolution became a reality, and the best sons of both the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples invested their strength, knowledge, health, and even their lives in it.

V.I. Lenin placed the interests of socialism above all. No ambitions, including national ambitions, must overshadow this main aim of socialist society. We cannot allow all the sufferings and achievements of many generations of fighters for the people's cause and the vital interests of Armenian and Azerbaijani working people to be placed in even the slightest doubt, G.P. Razumovskiy stressed.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is developing dynamically. The railroad, power lines, and gas pipelines all provide the closest link between the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the Azerbaijan SSR. There are many industrial enterprises working in the oblast, and Stepanakert has become a major industrial and cultural center. The facts show that in terms of the most important economic and social indicators the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in many cases exceeds the average republic level. Of course not all questions have been resolved either in the republic or in the oblast and there are still many shortcomings in the economic and cultural spheres, but that's life. The urgent problems should be resolved by means of work and concrete deeds. Where necessary the USSR Government is prepared to examine proposals on these questions.

We are all living in one socialist state common to us all. This is our common motherland, not one partitioned off by border posts. It is the duty of each of us to do everything to ensure that matters improve everywhere. That is the very aim of our restructuring, that is the concern of working people's collectives.

Dozens of different nationalities and peoples inhabit our multinational country and all its republics. That is why the nationalities policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state are aimed at the maximum satisfaction of each people's social, economic, and cultural needs.

Comrade Razumovskiy went on to say that our ideological enemy stands to profit from shaking our unity. His work is aimed at this. If we now allow ourselves to be drawn into debates of various kinds, it will only delay the resolution of urgent socioeconomic tasks in our society. Consequently, we must display restraint, prudence, genuine party-mindedness, and wisdom and think about the motherland's destiny. This is our civic and patriotic duty. This is our firm position. And, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, we must remember the unification of every people's national pride and national property with the socialist society's internationalism through the revolution and Soviet power.

Those who addressed the aktiv—Z.M. Movsesyan, first secretary of Stepanakert party gorkom; M.Sh. Musaelyan, first secretary of the Komsomol Obkom; N.A. Gadzhiyev, first secretary of Shushinskiy party raykom; T.V. Soboleva, cutter at Stepanakert Footwear Factory; S.A. Sarkisyan, rector of Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute; B.G. Ibragimov, department chief at Stepanakert Comprehensive Zonal Station; S.Z. Pogosyan, fitter at Stepanakert Electrical Equipment Plant; Sh.M. Petrosyan, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom; R.S. Kocharyan, secretary of the Karabakh Silk Combine's party committee; B.S. Kevorkov, first secretary of the party obkom; M.R. Arzumanyan, vegetable grower on Askeranskiy Rayon's "Akhtanak" Kolkhoz; A.A. Gukasyan, deputy editor of the oblast newspaper SOVETAKAN

KARABAKH; B.V. Dadamyan, general director of Stepanakert PATO [expansion unknown]; M.D. Balasanyan, artiste of Stepanakert's M. Gorkiy State Drama Theater; serviceman M.M. Zaytsev; and L.Kh. Rasulova, chairman of the Azerbaijan Trade Union Council—pointed out that the oblast's Communists and working people are profoundly concerned at the present situation, which has resulted from the actions of irresponsible individuals, as well as from a loss of political vigilance on the part of a number of party committees, Communists, soviet and Komsomol organization workers, and economic leaders and from their passive, temporizing stance. The speakers self-critically analyzed the situation in the oblast and made a principled assessment of the activity of party committees and organs of local power which have failed to display maturity and farsightedness.

In a complex situation, instead of carrying out active organizational, political, and ideological education work, many leaders have let themselves get carried away with slogans which divert working people, young people, and the whole population away from resolving urgent problems of social, economic, and cultural life.

The party obkom, its bureau and secretariat, and Comrade B.S. Kevorkov, obkom first secretary, personally have failed to take an assertive stand on these questions. It was pointedly stated that urgent questions of a socioeconomic nature and concern for developing culture and education in the oblast had for many years been overlooked by the obkom and the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. A number of other problems requiring a concrete solution were also raised.

The party aktiv assured the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo that the oblast's Communists understand all the acuteness of the situation and emphasized that they have sufficient experience, strength, and party-minded conviction to normalize the situation and channel people's efforts into resolving the priority tasks of the oblast's socioeconomic development.

The aktiv was addressed by P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and K.M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

Members and candidate members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom participated in the aktiv's work.

Aktiv Resolution Reported

PM021621 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 23 Feb 88 p 2

["Resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Party Organization Aktiv of 22 February 1988"—BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY headline]

[Text] After listening to and discussing the speech delivered by Comrade G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the meeting of the party aktiv is fully in agreement with the CPSU Central Committee's assessment of the prevailing situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast as serious.

The meeting notes that the actions and demands aimed at revising the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's existing national territorial arrangement run counter to the interests of the working people of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, are harmful to relations between the nations, and can, if responsible measures are not taken now, lead to consequences that are unpredictable and even difficult to rectify. All this was made possible as a result of appeals by irresponsible people and the passive, wait-and-see stance adopted by party and soviet organs in the autonomous oblast, whose leadership has underestimated the widespread feelings and has approached the assessment of the prevailing situation superficially.

The party aktiv meeting considers it of fundamental importance that the obkom, the Stepanakert gorkom, party raykoms, and primary party organizations direct all the means of political and ideological influence toward explaining Lenin 's nationalities policy and its essence at the present stage.

All work must proceed from the premise that the nationalities question demands that close and constant attention be paid to national features and mentality and that the vital interests of working people be taken into account.

The task is for oblast party organizations and the aktiv of ideological institutions to launch extensive work among the masses and in labor collectives on questions stemming from the CPSU Central Committee resolution, to ensure that the document's directives are intellectually and emotionally grasped by every working person, and to achieve the most rapid normalization of the situation.

Azerbaijan Official on Economy

PM021655 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 23 Feb 88 p 2

[Interview with A.N. Mutalibov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Gosplan, by unnamed AZERINFORM correspondent: "The Economy of the Mountain Region"]

[Text] Compared with other regions of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is developing dynamically. In many areas of the economy, culture, and spiritual life, it noticeably exceeds the average level for the republic. That is the result of the strenuous work of people in all spheres of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast economy and the constant attention and help given by the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs.

As already reported, however, a tense situation has occurred in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast recently resulting from the irresponsible and ill-considered actions of individuals who have demanded the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR. Attempts are being made to justify these absurd demands by citing the autonomous oblast's alleged economic backwardness.

Your AZERINFORM correspondent asked A.N. Mutalibov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Gosplan, to describe the real economic situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, the implementation of the tasks on the agenda of the second stage of restructuring, and the planned development prospects.

Nagorno-Karabakh, he said, is a developed industrial and agrarian oblast which plays an important role in the economy of the whole republic. The development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's economy is ensured by close collaboration and cooperation with other regions of Azerbaijan, which send Nagorno-Karabakh various types of equipment, metal products, construction materials, fuel and energy resources, raw materials, and various other goods.

Industry occupies a leading place in the oblast's economy. In the past 15 years the volume of industrial production has more than tripled. Development has been particularly intensive in the food and light industries and machine building, which now produce more than 80 percent of industrial output. The accelerated rate of development of the oblast's economy is guaranteed by substantial capital investments which have more than tripled in volume in the past three 5-year plans in comparison with the previous three 5-year plans. Capital investments are set to increase in the current 5-year plan, too, and at a faster rate than for the republic as a whole.

Prospects for the further development of the oblast's industry have also been mapped out. The national economic plan envisages the completion of the construction of a large agricultural machine plant in Stepanakert and the expansion of the electrical engineering plant. In accordance with party decisions it is planned to set up subsidiaries of industrial enterprises here.

The plan for the location of production forces in Azerbaijan through the year 2005 envisages that in the next 5-year plan the light industry and agro-industrial complex base in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast will undergo further development. It is planned to modernize the Karabakh Silk Combine's silk reeling production unit and to convert a number of wineries to the production of fruit juices, pickles, and preserves. The comprehensive socioeconomic development of the Shusha and Gadrut mountain regions is also planned.

Measures are also planned to further develop crop farming. It must be said, however, that despite pretty big harvests at present the level of state purchases in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast does not exceed the average for Azerbaijan and for most agricultural crops is considerably below the average.

With the opening of the Agdam-Stepanakert branch railroad the oblast has been given a direct rail link with the republic's industrial centers. The Yevlakh-Stepanakert main gas pipeline has made it possible to begin the comprehensive provision of gas to population centers in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

The development of the oblast's productive forces and its social infrastructure has made it possible to involve a considerable proportion of the able-bodied population in public-sector production. According to sociological research figures, the percentage of labor resources engaged in public-sector production is currently half of the figure for the republic as a whole. The long-term republic-wide "Demography" program envisages the attainment of full employment by the end of the 5-year plan.

An extensive program has been planned for the oblast's social development. The construction of a large-panel housing construction shop in Stepanakert is planned to resolve the housing problem as quickly as possible. The questions of building a Palace of Culture and a Young Pioneers' Center in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's capital as well as a House of Culture in Askeranskiy Rayon will be resolved. The construction of schools, preschool institutions, and hospitals will continue.

The implementation of such a large-scale program has a firm base. The per capita provision of services in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is higher than the average for the republic. There are more hospital beds and retail trade and public catering enterprises per 10,000 inhabitants in the oblast. The number of children at preschool institutions is higher than the average indicator for the republic. There are more movie theaters, libraries, and other cultural facilities in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

The claims that the supply of consumer goods to the autonomous oblast's working people is inadequate are absolutely false. For example, the food consumption patterns in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are completely normal. Each inhabitant of Stepanakert, for instance, consumes more than 12 kg of butter a year. For comparison, let me give you some other figures: For Baku the average is 13 kg, for Ali-Bayramly the figure is 10 kg, in Mingechaur it is 11.5 kg, in Sumgait it is 10.6 kg, and in Kirovabad the figure is 10.5 kg. Per capita consumption of milk and meat in Stepanakert is also second only to the republic's capital, Baku.

Of course, it cannot be said that there are no problems in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. But I have to say that many of them would have been resolved sooner had greater efforts been made locally to assimilate the resources allocated and to implement the plans. Unfortunately there have been no noticeable improvements here for a number of years now. The commissioning of a number of important projects has been delayed. Last year the oblast failed to fulfill the plan for the production of potatoes and grapes. The standard of stockraising is low. Many improvements are needed in the social sphere.

At the same time, extra measures are now being taken to resolve the outstanding questions of the oblast's socioeconomic development and a special program is being devised. The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's working people, like all workers in Azerbaijan and all the Soviet people, have every reason to look to the future with firm faith and optimism.

Nagorno Obkom Meetings Noted

PM021610 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 24 Feb 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Nagorno-Karabakh Party Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] A Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom plenum was held on 23 February and examined an organizational question.

The plenum released B.S. Kevorkov from his duties as first secretary and member of the party obkom bureau for shortcomings in his work. G.A. Pogosyan, who previously worked as first deputy chairman of the oblispolkom and chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Agroprom, was elected first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom.

The plenum was addressed by K.M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. The following took part in the plenum's work: V.N. Konovalov; T.Kh. Orudzhev; R.V. Akhundov; V.A. Kondratyev, chief of a CPSU Central Committee sector; and V.M. Yashin, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee.

An enlarged session of the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom bureau was held the day before. It was addressed by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The following took part in the bureau's work: P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; K.M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; V.A. Mikhaylov and G.P. Kharchenko, deputy chiefs of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department; and V.A. Kondratyev, chief of a CPSU Central Committee sector.

Nagorno Aktiv Meeting Reported

PM021325 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 24 Feb 88 p 2

[ARMENPRESS report: "Meeting of Republic Party Aktiv"]

[Text] A meeting of the republic party aktiv was held 23 February 1988 to discuss urgent measures to normalize the situation in Yerevan in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on this question.

A report was delivered by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The meeting was addressed by: A. Aguzumtsyan, general director of the Leninakan Cotton Production Association; K. Dallakyan, chairman of the Committee for Cultural Ties with Armenians Abroad; A. Gomtsyan, first secretary of Gukasyanskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom; G. Ovanesyan, chairman of the Armenian Writers' Union Board; G. Tataryan, general director of the Armyanskiy "Armtransgaz" Production Association; Academician V. Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences; writer V. Petrosyan; N. Akopyan, chairman of the Armenian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; L. Saakyan, first secretary of Yerevan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom; and G. Minasyan, first secretary of Bagramyanskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom.

V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the work of the meeting and made speeches.

A resolution on the question under discussion was adopted.

Resolution on Normalization

PM021409 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 24 Feb 88 p 2

["Resolution of Republic Party Aktiv Meeting of 23 February 1988"—KOMMUNIST headline]

[Text] 1. The aktiv meeting approves and adopts for guidance and undeviating execution the CPSU Central Committee resolution of 21 February 1988 as the only correct approach under prevailing conditions.

2. The meeting stresses the republic party aktiv's particular responsibility to the people and party and believes that party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations should take resolute measures, lead the work to normalize the situation that has arisen, and launch extensive work among the masses and labor collectives to explain the tasks stemming from the CPSU

Central Committee resolution. It is considered expedient to assign members of the Central Committee Bureau and of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee to labor collectives, scientific and cultural institutions, VUZ's, and secondary specialized educational establishments to carry out the corresponding work.

3. The CPSU Central Committee is to be asked to comprehensively examine the question of Nagorno-Karabakh in conjunction with other problems during preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the problems of nationalities policy.

Dolgikh Urges End to Protests

PM021415 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 25 Feb 88 p 1

["Speech by V.I. Dolgikh, Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Armenian Television"—KOMMUNIST headline]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

This is the 2d day that Comrade A.I. Lukyanov and I have spent in your republic on instructions from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. This is in connection with the well-known events in Nagorno-Karabakh and Yerevan, whose aim is a revision of the national-territorial structure existing in this region since the twenties. Despite the exceptional complexity and delicate nature of this question, groups of people are demanding its immediate solution.

We would like to inform you of the CPSU Central Committee's stance on this problem.

Yesterday and today, we held lengthy conversations with representatives of those attending the rallies and with working people in streets and squares. The CPSU Central Committee has always been attentive to people's opinions and Armenia's needs. It has highly valued and continues to value its contribution to the strengthening of friendship between our country's peoples and primarily with its neighbors, to the victory in the Great Patriotic War, and to the economy's postwar development. Therefore, I will say bluntly in this context that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo is seriously perturbed by the impermissible fanning of passions and emotions around the Karabakh question at this time.

The holding of rallies and the disruption of labor rhythm at enterprises and of studies at educational establishments are totally unacceptable as regards studying and solving such questions.

Matters in Nagorno-Karabakh have gone as far as clashes between groups of Armenians and Azerbaijanis, and there have been casualties.

Such a development of events may lead to unpredictable consequences and does, of course, cast a shadow over fraternal relations between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples.

This is why the CPSU Central Committee Politburo adopted a decision on this question on 21 February, in which it made a principled assessment of events.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo demanded that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee take every measure to normalize the situation.

Improvement of every people's life, guarantee of their dignity, observance of their national interests, and elimination of existing shortcomings in this respect are our priority tasks.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is stabilizing thanks to the self-possession and political responsibility displayed by Communists and the overwhelming majority of the population. Yesterday's party obkom plenum and working people's mass rally in Stepanakert fully approved the CPSU Central Committee resolution.

The situation is not improving in Yerevan. Large rallies are still being held and are attended by representatives of various strata of the population, and this complicates citizens' life and prompts legitimate protests from them.

Comrades, you know that we have inherited quite a few unsolved questions and historical accretions, including in nationalities problems. This is why M.S. Gorbachev declared at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum that a forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum will be devoted to the problems of nationalities policy at the present stage.

Restructuring is under way in the country, and democracy is expanding. But this does not mean encouragement for unbridled passions, breaches of public order, or actions not in conformity with the interests of socialism.

The 23 February meeting of the Armenian party aktiv, having supported the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's decision and adopted it for unswerving implementation, made a self-critical assessment of the prevailing situation and noted that its swiftest normalization is a matter of honor for all Communists and all citizens of the republic and their duty to their people and the country.

The aktiv asked the CPSU Central Committee to comprehensively examine the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh within the package of other questions in the same sphere when preparing for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

We have been instructed to report that this problem will be studied and examined with utmost attention and properly. But this takes time.

The situation prevailing in Yerevan cannot facilitate but can only hinder this study and examination. We call on you all to display maturity and restore the normal rhythm of life and labor in Yerevan and the republic.

Soviet Armenia's people have repeatedly proved their courage and common sense in difficult situations.

The CPSU Central Committee counts on this today!

Dolgikh, Lukyanov Lay Wreaths

PM021405 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 25 Feb 88 p 1

[ARMENPRESS report: "Wreath-Laying Ceremony"]

[Text] V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who are in Armenia, went to Lenin Square 24 February and laid a wreath at the foot of the monument to the great leader.

They were accompanied by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; and other leaders of the Armenian Communist Party and the republic's government.

On the same day Comrades V.I. Dolgikh and A.I. Lukyanov laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the Monument to the Victims of the 1915 Genocide.

Azerbaijan Aktiv Meets

PM021531 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 25 Feb 88 p 1

[AZERINFORM report: "Azerbaijan Party Aktiv Meeting"]

[Text] An Azerbaijan party aktiv meeting was held 24 February to discuss the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and urgent measures to normalize the situation and radically improve mass political and ideological work in the republic.

The aktiv meeting was addressed by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and K.M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. They noted that the party Central Committee has made a principled assessment of the events taking place in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and stressed that the actions and demands for a review of the existing national and territorial setup contradict the interests of working people in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and are detrimental to inter-nation relations. They dwelt in detail on the tasks facing the republic party organization in overcoming the negative phenomena and pointed out the need to adopt effective measures to resolve vital questions of the socioeconomic and cultural development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and ensure the all-around strengthening of the Leninist friendship of the peoples.

R.A. Bagirli, first secretary of Kirovabad Party Gorkom; N.V. Nikitin, chairman of the Kalinin Kolkhoz in Ismaillinskiy Rayon; T.Sh. Gasparyan, lathe operator at the "Elektroshtamp" plant in Baku; P.A. Azizbekova, director of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Museum of Azerbaijani History and academician of the republic Academy of Sciences; A.A. Ayriyan, Azerbaijan SSR minister of the timber and wood processing industry; Ye.G. Protokovets, general director of the "Azerelektroterm" production association; A.D. Nurashvili, livestock raiser at the Nizami kolkhoz in Kakhskiy Rayon; Azerbaijan people's writer M.A. Ibragimov; T.K. Kocharli, rector of the Baku Higher Party School; R.S. Pogosova secretary of the Baku A. Karayev Petroleum Refinery; I.A. Ibragimov, rector of the Azerbaijan Institute of Petroleum and Chemistry named for M. Azizbekov; R.A. Mamedov, leader of an SU-45 multiskilled team and secretary of the primary party organization; S.A. Babayan, worker at the Stepanakert footwear factory; V.A. Nersisyan, first secretary of Kirovskiy party raykom in Baku; A.Ya. Bolotin, first secretary of Karadagskiy party raykom in Baku; A.R. Rzayev, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Writers' Union Board; T.A. Chalyan, senior editor at the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; R.D. Tariverdiyev, first secretary of Minchegaur party gorkom; V.P. Yegiazarov, deputy chairman of the Leninskiy Rayispolkom in Baku; E.Ye. Grigoryan, editor of the newspaper KOMMUNIST (in Armenian); F.E. Musayev, first secretary of Baku party gorkom; V.A. Bogoslovskiy, second secretary of Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom; R.M. Bedirov, first secretary of Kusarskiy party raykom; and serviceman M.M. Zaytsev addressed the meeting and fully supported the CPSU Central Committee's assessment of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, noting that the situation was due to the passive, wait-and-see attitude of party and soviet bodies in the autonomous oblast, whose leaders' were superficial in their approach to the situation that had arisen and to the widespread mood. The leadership of republic bodies was not equal to the task either.

A resolution adopted by the party aktiv wholly and fully backed the CPSU Central Committee's assessment and outlined specific measures to normalize the situation and ensure the extensive involvement of all means of political and ideological influence in the elucidation of the Leninist nationalities policy and its essential nature at the present stage and the international education of working people. All work must be based on the premise that the nationalities question demands close and constant attention to national peculiarities and mentality

and consideration of working people's vital interests. The republic's party, soviet, and economic bodies were told to elaborate and implement specific measures to ensure the further socioeconomic and cultural development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, participated in the meeting's work.

Azerbaijan Rayon Committees Meet

NC030818 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Barda Rayon Committee and the rayon branch of the Azerbaijan SSR Society for Knowledge have held a joint conference on the current problems in national relations in the Soviet Union. Reports were read during the convocation by Guseynov, a scientific worker of the People's Friendship Palace, which is affiliated with the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences; Kuliyev, chief of the Barda Rayon Party Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department; and Colonel Amirov, instructor of the Political Department of the Azerbaijan SSR Military Commissariat. The speakers discussed the national relations of the peoples in the Soviet Union and their international obligations, friendship, and traditions.

The participants in the meeting fully agreed with the appeal made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the workers and peoples of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's. The value of the friendship and traditions that have been established between the peoples in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's must be realized and strengthened. As stated by Mikhail Gorbachev, only this complies with the interests of the Soviet peoples.

Arrests in Sumgait

LD031253 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] On the situation in Sumgait. As reported on 28 February, a group of hooligans in Sumgait caused disturbances. Some unstable and immature people who were influenced by mischievious rumors and irresponsible talk about events in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia have carried out illegal acts in Sumgait. Hooligan elements, taking advantage of unconscious rebellious and emotional conditions, have brought about acts of violence. There are people who had losses. Party, soviet, and civilian security bodies have taken decisive measures for restoring the situation to normal. People known to have engaged in criminal acts have been apprehended by law enforcement bodies. A government commission has been set up, led by Comrade Gasan Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers. All problems connected with securing the city services, repairing residential and communal buildings, and maintaining public order are being solved. Appropriate assistance is being given to those who sustained losses. Upon the appeals and demands of citizens, relevant operative measures are being taken. Workers of the town are showing restraint. They are strengthening internationalist conditions in collectives. The rythm of labor has not been disrupted, even for a moment. Industrial, transport, social, and other establishments are working at the necessary regime. Schools continue to work.

Comrades Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Bagirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, have met with the working people of Sumgait. They have taken an interest in the town's main problems and measures for maintaining public order and for investigation into actions alien to society. The investigatory group of the USSR procurator is taking measures to determine the crimes and to hold responsible those who were involved in them.

'Victims' Reported in Riots

NC030713 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 0450 GMT 3 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] As has already been reported, (?a group of) hooligans provoked disturbances in Sumgait on 28 February. There have [word indistinct] incidents and there have been victims. People involved in culpable acts (?are being apprehended).

A government commission has been created, headed by Chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers Gasan Seidov. All problems connected with ensuring the smooth operation of city services, the repairing of residential and communal buildings, and maintaining public order are being solved.

Comrade Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Comrade Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, have met with the working people of Sumgait and taken an interest in the city's main problems. [sentence indistinct]

17 Killed in Sumgait

AU030849 Paris AFP in English 0831 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 3 (AFP)—Seventeen people were killed and 70 hurt in inter-ethnic clashes at the weekend at Sumgait in the southern republic of Azerbaijan, dissident Sergei Grigoryants said here Thursday.

The riots have been officially blamed on young Azerbaijanis whose parents fled to Sumgait from Kafan, in southeastern Armenia, during Armenian nationalist demonstrations last week.

Mr. Grigoryants, editor of the publication GLASNOST, said his information came from a source in Yerevan, capital of neighboring Armenia, who said there had been incidents Saturday and Sunday.

Soviet official spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov had told reporters Wednesday that "several people" had been killed on Sunday. He said earlier that a curfew had been imposed in Sumgait.

The victims included "Armenians, Azerbaijanis and members of other ethnic groups," according to a television station official in the Azerbaijani capital of Baku.

Mr. Grigoryants said that Sumgait remained "tense", and the city's Armenian population were staying at home, not even going out to buy supplies.

Soldiers sent into Sumgait to restore order were patrolling the streets but otherwise "inactive", Mr. Grigoryants said. The situation was also tense in other Azerbaijan cities but "not to the same extent", he added.

Mr. Grigoryants said that only people with residence permits were being allowed into Yerevan.

Those behind the riots would be tried and punished, the Baku official said Wednesday.

Tens of thousands of Armenians demonstrated in Yerevan last week for the return of Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region ceded to Azerbaijan in 1923 by Stalin.

Armenians are mainly Christian, while most Azerbaijanis are Moslems.

Academician Ovchinnikov Dies After Long Illness

PM021131 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Obituary of Academician Yuriy Anatolevich Ovchinnikov]

[Excerpts] Soviet science has suffered a grave loss. Academician Yuriy Anatolyevich Ovchinnikov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and a prominent scientist and organizer of science, died 17 February 1988 after a serious and prolonged illness.

Yu.A. Ovchinnikov was born 2 August 1934 in Moscow. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, Yu. D. Maslyukov, G.P.Razumovsky, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, A.P. Biryukova, A.F. Dobrynin, A.I. Lukyanov, V.A. Medvedev, I.V. Kapitonov, G.I. Marchuk, I.S. Belousov, B.L. Tolstykh, V.G. Afonin, O.S. Belyakov, V.A. Grigoryev, Yu.A. Bespalov, V.A. Bykov, N.V. Lemayev, N.M. Olshanskiy, Ye.I. Chazov, V.A. Kotelnikov, Ye.P. Velikhov, V.I. Ilichev, V.A. Koptyug, A.A. Logunov, G.A. Mesyats, P.N. Fedoseyev, K.V. Frolov, A.L. Yanshin, G.K. Skryabin, A.A. Bayev, N.M. Zhavoronkov, P.G. Kostyuk, V.Ye. Sokolov, A.V. Fokin, Yu.A. Buslayev, G.P. Georgiyev, V.T. Ivanov, M.V. Ivanov, D.G. Knorre, A.L. Kursanov, A.D. Mirzabekov, R.V. Petrov, S.Ye. Severin, A.S. Spirin, V.F. Bystrov, V.M. Kubrin, V.I. Kuznetsov.

Emigre Estonian Dissidents Interviewed

PM021459 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Feb 88 p 7

[Interview with exiled Estonian dissidents Eke-Part Nomm and Vello Vaartnou by Osmo Vatanen: "Founded New Party in Estonia"—Estonian names as published, disregarding diacritics]

[Text] Just in time for the 70th anniversary of the Republic of Estonia Moscow expelled freedom activists Vello Vaartnou and Eke-Part Nomm to Sweden. They have called for freedom for Estonia and been involved in the formation of an independence party. This was more than the policy of glasnost could tolerate.

This is the second time in a relatively short time that the Soviet Union has expelled Estonian freedom activists. Last fall worker Tiit Madisson was given his marching orders shortly after arranging a meeting in Tallinn in August which was attended by several thousand people and at which he and many others demanded the publication of the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. It was the basis for the Soviet Union's annexation of the Baltic states in 1940. The demonstration showed that there was scope for protests and these came thick and fast. Last September, for example, four high-ranking Communists, including the deputy chief editor of party organ RAHVA HAAL, were already demanding a new administration [foervaltning] specifically for Estonia, foreign investment, and elements of a market economy.

Vello Vaartnou told me about a demonstration in November in the city of Parnu at the monument to those who fell in the 1918-1919 war of liberation. The meeting was arranged by the same group to which Madisson belonged. Vello Vaartnou had the megaphone.

"The authorities urged us to go to the the town hall, but I shouted to the people that 'you have been listening to those loudspeakers for 50 years; how much longer do you intend to do so?'" Vaartnou said, recalling the demonstrators' applause when he also made a plea for a struggle for Estonia's independence.

Nomm also remembers the charged atmosphere before the meeting:

"A group of 150 Russian youths with a Soviet flag at their head went around the streets of Parnu to demonstrate that the Russians have come to stay. But after that there was fighting on a large scale between Estonian and Russian youths."

In December the idea of a "people's independence party" was hatched.

"We were forced to test the limits of the new politics, for Estonia has no other possibility. Estonians will soon be a minority in their own country," Vaartnou said.

"If we had worked more cautiously and more slowly, the Communists would still not have changed their policies in the long term. Nor do we think that Gorbachev will succeed with his policies, because the Stalinists still have their state posts."

Nomm's and Vaartnou's group at home in Estonia is continuing its work on the party. The next thing on the agenda is the drafting of a party program.

"Hundreds of people are working to bring the party about," Vaartnou said.

He is originally an artist, 37 years old, and was forced to leave his wife, Natali, in Tallinn, but she has been promised that she will be allowed to follow him. He is a practising Buddhist, studied the religion and its teachings in a monastery near the Mongolian border for several years, and is able to read the basic texts without problems.

"But the fact that I have a shaved head is because I was in a labor camp and prison for a couple of years and thought that it was most convenient," said Vaartnou, who was sentenced for an attempt to flee the Soviet Union during a visit to Karelia in his youth.

For Nomm on the other hand his bald head is a sign of his religious affiliation. He is only 22, but found Buddhism for himself, and had his faith strengthened when he met co-religionist Vaartnou.

"For me Buddhism stands for internal and external freedom and the struggle for freedom is therefore something completely natural in this context," said Vaartnou, who now intends to stay in Sweden, as does his colleague.

"Stockholm is closest to Estonia."

At 1100 hours yesterday another Estonian expelled from the Soviet Union arrived at Arlanda airport. Rein Mets in the leader of a religious group and one of the organizers behind the planned demonstrations in Tallin next Wednesday [24 February]. At Stockholm's Baltic Information Center the Soviet authorities' actions are seen as an attempt to strangle these demonstrations.

Details of Surgut Airport Crash Reported

PM021443 Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Mar 88 p 4

[Special correspondents V. Galenkin and V. Pavlenko report: "We Report the Details. Landing Approach"]

[Text] Surgut, Tyumen Oblast—...A black scar, furrowed land beside the runway, a torn wing and an engine just to one side. The aircraft itself is bent and upside down.

Aleksey Markiyanovich Goryashko, chairman of the state commission to investigate the air crash, forces out his words. He finds it hard to speak:

"At 0408 Moscow time 27 February a Tu-134 aircraft of the Belorussian Administration of Civil Aviation crashed at Surgut City Airport. On its landing approach the aircraft went off course in the immediate proximity of the runway, hit the ground, and broke up; a fire broke out. The airport services put out the fire in the space of 3 minutes. Some 35 minutes later all the casualties had been evacuated and accommodated in two city hospitals. There are casualties. The airport is continuing to operate. The administrative commission that has been set up is assisting the injured and the families of the dead..."

Who was on board? Duty-tour workers. Women and children were also on board. The crew? The copilot and two stewardesses died. How did the airfield rescue services operate? Every second counted on that morning...

"My shift had ended, and I left the shop. By chance I heard a bang and saw a flash," aircraft technician Arkadiy Dzhaak says. "I dashed over. I was holding nothing but a screwdriver. I ran up. It was approximately 200 meters from the workshops. The aircraft was burning. I tried to open the doors—they had jammed."

The seconds were passing...

"I had gone out onto the ramp to meet the aircraft. I saw a fire on the runway. The alarm had not yet been raised. I dashed into the shop," Sergey Solodov, chief of the ramp shift, says, "and raised the guys. We drove over to the fire in emergency vehicles. There were three technicians near the aircraft. We tried to open the doors, but failed. We tried to smash through the outer casing with axes and to break the windows—the crowbar rebounded... The air detachment's firemen drove up."

The seconds were passing...

"I think it was Dzhaak who drove the vehicle up," engineer Sergey Nechepo.enko says. "We attached a rope to the door. We pulled. Smoke billowed from the doorway. I remember that Dzhaak leaped from the vehicle and dashed into the aircraft. He began to choke. He asked the firemen for a gas mask, but they did not have one."

The seconds were passing...

"Oleg Vilkov, Vitaliy Dranitsin, and Igor Medvedev dived into the aircraft," Anatoliy Batalin recalls. "They carried someone out. Then another. The airport doctor and nurse bent over the casualties. Then the city firemen arrived as well. With oxygen masks they were able to enter the aircraft undaunted."

The seconds were passing. And there was a human life behind every second.

"The fire was extinguished in 3 minutes, and 35 minutes later the people had been evacuated from the aircraft..."

The air crash is being investigated. We do not doubt that its causes will be ascertained and that those guilty will be severely punished...

...Yes, it is important to find the specific cause of the accident, comprehend what happened, and draw all lessons from the disaster.

20 Reported Dead

PM021429 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 First Edition p 6

[Interview with A.M. Goryashko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation's State Commission for Oversight of Aircraft Safety (Gosavianadzor), by R. Viktorov: "Reporting the Details. Tragedy at the Landing Strip"; date, place of interview not specified; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] We have already reported that a Tu-134 passenger aircraft of the Belorussian Administration of Civil Aviation on the Minsk-Kuybyshev-Tyumen-Surgut route crashed on landing at Surgut Airport at 0408 hours Moscow time 27 February. A special commission headed by A.M. Goryashko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation's Gosavianadzor, is now working at the scene of the accident. Here is what he had to say:

[Goryashko] The Tu-134 was on its landing approach. Everything was going according to schedule, the crew had performed all necessary operations in full. It was only a matter of seconds before the undercarriage would have touched down on the concrete. But the aircraft suddenly veered off course and almost immediately "belly-landed" on the ground next to the concrete strip. The powerful impact with the ground broke up the aircraft and it burst into flames.

[Viktorov] How does the commission assess the actions by the various services at Surgut Airport in these emergency conditions?

[Goryashko] This is what we are now investigating. It is still difficult to draw final conclusions, but it can be confidently said that all of the airport's ground services operated efficiently and in an organized fashion in this complex situation. This is also indicated by the fact that the fire was extinguished by the airport services within 3 minutes.

[Viktorov] Probably by now it is possible to say something about the consequences of the crash?

[Goryashko] They are serious. The copilot, 2 air stewardesses, and 17 passengers lost their lives. The other casualties were taken to the city's hospitals. I would like to mention the party gorkom's assistance in this complex situation. Additional transport was made available. The casualties were given emergency medical assistance on the spot. After 35 minutes, all victims of the tragedy had been evacuated and admitted to the city's hospitals. An administrative commission has been set up to assist the families of the dead and to help the injured.

[Viktorov] What caused the crash?

[Goryashko] Unfortunately I am not yet ready to answer this question. The commission must thoroughly analyze all available data and facts. This is not a simple matter.

Oil Pipeline Bursts in Zhitomir Oblast

AU030932 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Feb 88 p 3

[G. Simakovich report: "An Accident on the Pipeline"]

[Text] People say that trouble always occurs at the most inconvenient time, which was so true in this case. It was Sunday, 21 February. Neither the undisturbed lines drawn by the recorder, nor the readings on instruments in the control room of the Mozyr Rayon administration for oil pipelines (in the Belorussian SSR) showed anything wrong.

But suddenly the controller, Valentina Antonovna Kochetkova, noticed that something had happened on the main line. In the center-west pipeline pressure abruptly fell, and automatic devices disconnected two machine units. Trouble was at hand! There was no time for deliberation, and Kochetkova made an immediate, and in such a situation the only correct, decision: She shut off the pipeline. The time was 0835.

When the powerful pumping stations came to a standstill and the swift stream in the underground pipeline stopped, it was necessary to reduce the possibility of a calamity to a minimum.

The first conclusion was: There was a burst on the pipeline. Judging from the instruments, it should have happened somewhere in Zhitomir Oblast. But where exactly?

Alarm signals from the controller were received in Ovruch and Novgorod-Volynskiy almost at the same time. Emergency teams left from the two places to meet each other. A helicopter went from Zhitomir for the supposed trouble spot. Shortly after the first report was received in Mozyr, a burst in the pipeline was detected near Davydki village in Korostenskiy Rayon.

It is to be pointed out that from the moment of the accident all those concerned had to act with precision and without delay. After all, in the pipeline there was benzine under a pressure of several tens of atmospheres. It is not difficult to imagine what each moment of delay could have amounted to, in particular if one takes into account the dimensions of the crack produced by the burst: It was 80 cm long and 3-10 cm wide.

Although the pumping stations were effectively cut off, hundreds of cubic meters of fuel, according to preliminary estimates, flowed into the main irrigation canal that passed over the pipeline and that was directly connected to the Uzh River. And the Uzh, only 7 km away from the trouble spot, is in addition the source of water supplied to Korosten.

The main thing was to prevent benzine from discharging into the Uzh River. For this purpose earth digging equipment was brought to the site of the accident. The irrigation canal was blocked by six dams, and benzine did not reach the river. Arrangements were made to pump it into tank trucks and to transport it to oil deposits.

On 25 February the editorial board contacted G.A. Gotovchits, Zhitomir Oblispolkom deputy chairman and chairman of the permanent extraordinary commission for eliminating the effects of accidents and calamities.

"By 1900 today the pipeline refilling began; the pipeline has resumed its operation," Georgiy Aleksandrovich said. "Owing to the well-timed measures, to the construction of the dams and collectors, the discharge of oil products into the Uzh River is precluded both for the time being and in the spring. The builders and machine operators are still working at the site of the burst. The main task now is to remove ice and to treat benzine-covered water with absorbents. The latter have already been supplied, and operations in this field are developing."

It is now difficult to deduce what caused the accident and what damage it caused the national economy. The editorial board will come back to this question.

Report on Life in 'Chernobyl Zone'

Part One

PM021431 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Feb 88 p 3

[Part one of two-part report by SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent A. Gulyayev under the "Solution Required" rubric: "People in the 'Zone.' What Is Life Like for Them Today After the Accident at the Chernobyl AES?"]

[Text] Belorussian SSR—The telephone began to ring when I.M. Maksimenko, director of Cherikovskiy Rayon's "Znamya" Sovkhoz, was at the doorway of his office.

"Come over right away," the rayispolkom chairman's voice came down the line. "They have phoned from Minsk about your letter."

He drove off in perplexity: He hadn't written any letters to Minsk. It turned out that it was a question of his second appeal in the last few months to the USSR Council of Ministers.

Let us be blunt: it is not every day that people send letters to that address. In order to understand the reasons which prompted this step, we must take a look, if only very roughly, at the problems of the people who, like Maksimenko, live in the "zone." That is, on the territory affected by radioactive fallout after the accident at Chernobyl.

Science fiction fans will remember the "zone" in "Roadside Picnic" by the Strugatskiy brothers. But whereas there only desperate stalkers roamed around, here everyone comes into this category—young and old. They live, work, take part in informal activities, combat drunkenness, fulfill plans, and have fun at weddings. Children are being born here (incidentally, don't believe the rumors—they are all healthy).

But it would, of course, be a great exaggeration to say that literally everything here is the same as everywhere else. If only because people have experienced decontamination, something familiar only from civil defense manuals. (On the whole the military dealt with this and they had their own heroes, whose stories have not yet been told. But since the heroic and the ridiculous contrive to coexist with one another, this dialectical unity was not long in making an appearance here too in the most unexpected way. The point is that the presence of the military has always excited the representatives of the better half of mankind. There were romances in the areas where the military were based. Then idle rumor put forward the following syllogism: If the military who have

to clean up the radioactive rubbish have not lost interest in the fairer sex, things can't be all that bad! They say that many people were more convinced by this than by speeches from the most prestigious scientists.)

Where else, apart from the zone, will you encounter such concepts as "clean" output and "clean" or "contaminated" feed? Here they are commonplace and mean that radioactivity does not exceed the norms. But radioactive nuclides in the soil pollute crops and also livestock feed. That is, milk and meat will, as a result, contain more radioactive elements than permitted and will be unsuitable for food. The USSR Gosagroprom promptly elaborated the necessary recommendations for conducting livestock farming and crop growing. Immediate measures include the introduction of an increased quantity of mineral fertilizers and feeding livestock for several months prior to slaughter on "clean" feed, that is, feed from a nonpolluted zone. The implementation of hydrotechnical amelioration measures is also of great importance.

All this is producing results. For instance, last year from January to September alone they managed to reduce the amount of "contaminated" beef in Gomel Oblast almost by a factor of six and almost halved the amount of contaminated milk.

Similar work is being carried out in Mogilev Oblast. Incidentally, both these oblasts have managed to cope with the fulfillment of the plans, despite even emergency conditions. Following the creation of the 30-km zone and the evacuation from it the people of Gomel lost, essentially, a whole agricultural rayon where almost R100 million of fixed production capital remained. Nevertheless the 1987 plan has been fulfilled in terms of all main indicators.

Of course, all this demanded great expenditure and took a great deal of trouble. This included protecting people from radioactive substances, which might enter the organism in food. So it was also forbidden to consume "polluted" meat, milk, and eggs, and—in 1986—vegetables. Now the situation is gradually stabilizing and the prohibitions are being lifted, but at that time the situation was serious. Meat, milk, vegetables, eggs, and sour cream had to be delivered from elsewhere.

It was equally important to protect people against external radiation, from the influence of dust-borne particles. When only the teeth of a grubby hero of the harvest are gleaming in a smile in photographs or color movies this looks very cute. But if you recall that the dust is not ordinary dust but radioactive dust—you don't feel very moved.

A machine operator can consider himself to be safe when he works in a cabin sealed against dust, the tractor is washed after work, its driver takes a shower, and goes down the asphalt path to the asphalt street which will take him straight home. It was necessary to hastily asphalt the roads, construct washers for equipment, shower rooms, and laundries for protective clothing, and put in water pipes.

Over the last 2 years alone 114 rest rooms and dining rooms, 162 cloakrooms, and 143 shower rooms have been constructed in Gomel Oblast. 292 livestock units have been equipped with amenities. In 1987 in Mogilev Oblast 88 km of farm roads, motor pool yards, and territories around schools, kindergartens, and livestock units were asphalted, 210 km of water pipe systems laid, 122 artesian wells set up, and 37 stores, 38 shower rooms and bath houses, and 5 self-service laundries constructed. Systems for constant medical monitoring of people's health, nature protection, the production of "clean" output, and the organization of domestic life have been largely created and are in operation. Minsk Tractor Plant specialists developed and manufactured in 1986 an experimental model of a cabin in which overpressure is created and not only can dust not enter but it is actually forced out.

Other measures could also be listed which cost many millions of rubles and much effort by all the republic's working people.

Probably the main results of all that has been done is that there are no diseases in the "zone" caused by radioactive contamination. For a long time agitated rumors predicted an increase in cancers. But the results of 2-year observations disprove this.

Thus a great deal has been done and is being done. So why is Maksimenko, one of the rayon's most respected leaders, sidestepping all other authorities and appealing direct to the country's Council of Ministers? What alarm and what plight are giving him no peace? It is best to read his letter.

There is no need to quote the beginning. Here Maksimenko writes that, despite what has happened, practically all workers have remained in the locality. This was, incidentally, by no means the case everywhere. In 1986 alone, for example, the population of Gomel Oblast fell by tens of thousands. It must be admitted that ordinary workers, leaders and party activists left, abandoning everything.

But people did not leave the "Znamya" Sovkhoz. They remained and are working diligently and honestly. "But our trouble is," the director writes, "that all work to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES on the 'Znamya' Sovkhoz finished after the first necessary measures. All the big clever bosses apparently began to watch what would happen to this livestock unit. A complex for fattening 3,000 head of cattle per year and a residential settlement were excluded from the 1987 construction plan. Incidentally, both the complex and the residential settlement were in the sovkhoz's 'clean' zone. The arguments were as follows: Why build

anything when people may have to be evacuated, and anyhow, would 'uncontaminated' meat be produced? For a year now the sovkhoz has been producing only 'uncontaminated' meat, and doing so at ordinary livestock units in the 'contaminated' zone. People live and work here.

"The sovkhoz has been visited by many commissions from the USSR and Belorussian SSR Gosagroproms, the Oblast Agroprom, research institutes, and workers from the CPSU Central Committee, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, and Belorussian Communist Party Obkom apparatus... They went to homes, inquired about people's mood, and promised to help. The people believed them. But time passed and everyone gestures helplessly: There are no funds or construction organizations to construct for people in the 'clean' zone the complex which has been taken away from them and the residential settlement and to resettle people there from the polluted zone.

"To this day it has not been possible to asphalt the territory of the kindergarten or that of the motor pool, although chemical troops have been clearing the topsoil at these and other facilities for two seasons to decontaminate them... Now the workers ask me: 'When will the bosses come? What else will we be promised?' What am I to reply to people?"

I must say that specialists fully share Maksimenko's alarm. Members of numerous commissions who have visited the villages of Chudyany, Malinovka, Novomalinovka, and Kamenka said the same. True, confidentially and with reservations: "This is not for publication..." and "Don't count on us particularly..."

"I finally reached a deadlock," the director wrote. "It is definitely necessary to resettle people in the sovkhoz' clean zone... Medical workers also favored evacuation. But some people in some places were fainthearted about making this crucial decision."

Approximately a month later Maksimenko was told: "Your letter to the USSR Council of Ministers has been referred to the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers for a response." From there it went to the Mogilev Oblispolkom and then returned via the authorities to its point of departure.

But Ivan Mikhaylovich is a persistent man. Early in January, while in Moscow at the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements, he sent yet another letter to the same address.

He wrote incidentally also about bureaucrats who do not care about other people's troubles and who are ready to "kick" from pillar to post any piece of paper, however heartfelt the appeal it contains. Then the phone call came. I.Ye. Lebedev, senior consultant at the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers reception office for working people's complaints and letters, inquired: What kind of a director is this I.M. Maksimenko and is he all right in the head? How dare he repeatedly trouble such high authorities and call senior workers bureaucrats?...

The circuit was closed. The help from Moscow on which he was counting so much will not be forthcoming. Nothing can be expected from the rayon. Even if it abandoned everything and dealt only with the sovkhoz, the feeble rayon Interkolkhoz Mobile Mechanized Column would need more than 2 years to construct 356 apartments for the evacuees. The raykom and the ispolkom instructed the rayon services to tackle construction at "Znamya" even to the detriment of their own affairs. There is hope that just a few families will be able to be moved to the "clean" zone by the end of the year. But 300 will still remain.

The most representative commissions continue to visit the sovkhoz. But Maksimenko does not trust them. It is difficult for him to understand why this affair has not been resolved in almost 2 years. Everyone has been there, everyone has seen, and everyone knows about it, but no one will make the decision. What is going on: someone's pusillanimity, incomprehension, and negligence? Or is this a quite exceptional case which has befallen their sovkhoz and things are quite different in other areas of the zone?

Part Two

PM021031 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Feb 88 p 3

[Final part of two-part report by special correspondent A. Gulyayev article under the rubric "Solution Required": "People in the 'Zone'"]

[Text] Belorussian SSR—When you drive from Gomel to Vetka, one of the first farms along the way working in "special conditions" is the "Khalch" Sovkhoz. Naturally, all requirements for the creation of safe working conditions extend to it. Something would seem to have been done. True, on close inspection this "something" looks unsightly. There is a shower in the motor pool, but no one goes there because it is cold and dirty, and the hot water rarely works. The machine operators say that they were issued with protective clothing, but there is nowhere to wash it. They go from home to work in dusty, dirty coveralls, and return home from work in the same coveralls. There is nowhere to wash the equipment. In other words, the system of measures intended to protect the machine operators from external radiation is not working.

A similar situation was also encountered in other rayons in the zone. How can it be otherwise, if, for example, only 10 percent of livestock units and motor pools in Khoynikskiy Rayon are properly equipped. Today all streets are asphalted in less than half the population centers. But that's nothing. In Slavgorodskiy Rayon, Mogilev Oblast, the figure is only about 10 percent. Overall, the oblast Rural Construction Administration

has assimilated less than half of the capital investments for asphalting streets and constructed only about half the necessary number of standard washrooms and less than two thirds of shower rooms.

So today, almost 2 years after the Chernobyl accident, safe conditions have by no means been created everywhere for people living and working in the zone. This depressing conclusion is particularly depressing as it concerns the creation not of special but of normal conditions. Should not showers at livestock units or motor pools have been the norm long ago? Not only showers but also clean coveralls, asphalt, and washing facilities for equipment?

Until lightning strikes a peasant does not cross himself, as the saying goes. But now it has struck! And the cart, to continue employing proverbial wisdom, has now scarcely gone half the way.

Why does all this happen? Maybe elementary inefficiency on the part of the local authorities is at the bottom of it? That is part of the story, true. In that same Vetkovskiy Rayon in Gomel Oblast it took 3 whole months to issue people with coveralls which had already been shipped in. There are lots of cases where trade cannot cope with its functions and public catering falls down on the job.

All the same, this is not the main reason. It is difficult to carry out construction work, to build roads, and to provide amenities at livestock units and motor pools when there is a catastrophic lack of material resources. Last year, for example, the additional demands related to work to eliminate the consequences of the accident were satisfied as follows in Mogilev Oblast alone: only 35 percent for construction materials, 52 percent for mineral fertilizers, and 60 percent for concentrated feeds. The result of all this was that, as recorded by the authoritative commission consisting of representatives of Gosplan, Gosstroy, Gosagroprom, and the USSR Ministry of Finance which visited the republic late last year, "...significant amounts of work in the current year will not be performed and will be carried over into 1988." That is what has happened.

There is also a shortage of specialized equipment, the specialized equipment which specialists at the Minsk Tractor Plant hastily created after the accident. Now, almost 2 years later, only one of the 40 tractors at the Zhdanov Kolkhoz in Khoynikskiy Rayon has a specialized dust-proof cabin. In the rayon as a whole only 12 percent of tractors have dust-proof cabins.

According to the long-term program adopted before the accident, it was planned that the "Glavpolesyevodstroy" trust would carry out land reclamation work in Mogilev Oblast on 13,000 hectares annually. After the accident this work acquired particular significance, and specialists and organizations from the republic's neighboring oblasts were called in to carry it out. This enabled them to increase the amount by another 4,000 hectares per year. But before Mogilev had time to rejoice at this decision, the union ministry took 3,500 hectares away from "Glavpolesyevodstroy." Then it was back to 13,000 hectares.

The office worker sitting hundreds of miles away from here has his own perception of the situation. What's so special about this zone?—he frowns irritably. The place is not falling apart, there are no explosions and no shooting! So what are they grumbling about? Give us land reclamation! Give us construction materials, give us mixed feed and fertilizers... Yu.M. Khusainov, chairman of the republican Gosagroprom, and A.T. Gulenko, chairman of the "Soyuzselkhozkhimiya" All-Union Science and Production Association, signed a protocol for 1988 whereby additional mineral fertilizers were allocated to Mogilev Oblast. Although according to this document only one-fourth of the amount calculated by the oblast agroprom's specialists could be obtained, they received only half the amount recorded in the protocol. True, now after numerous requests and complaints, it is possible that more will be allocated.

There are many such examples. As A.A. Grakhovskiy, chairman of Gomel Oblispolkom, stated: "...every spring I'd set off and make the rounds of official bodies." They are not eager to provide anything, and some have even forgotten about the consequences of the accident. Plans, quotas, funds—this eternal paper shuffling is burying the zone's most vital requirements, just as bureaucratic brush-offs buried Sovkhoz Director Maksimenko's request. Moreover, you may run into the reproach: You are speculating on the accident...

It is interesting to observe the people who say such things when they themselves visit the territory of the rayons which have suffered. In each rayon they can tell of how some inspectors prefer not to leave their hotel room, asking that the necessary information be brought to them. And how after saying that everything is safe or that the increased content of radionuclides is virtually beneficial, all they will eat is chicken in a plastic bag that they have brought with them, washed down with water from their own flask.

It is difficult to say anything against the sense of self-preservation. But when it is directed only toward oneself and in no way extends to others, when it is combined with unwillingness to lift a finger to assist those who live and work here, this is so disgraceful that it goes even beyond egotism.

Unfortunately, it is not only "state officials" from various organizations who suffer from this shortcoming. In the last 2 years planned concerts have begun to be canceled in Gomel Oblast. Some kind of epidemic has attacked our stage "stars," who drop like flies as soon as a trip here is mentioned. And how can we not recall the fairground workers from Czechoslovakia who came to Gomel with all their attractions? Or Valeriy Leontyev,

who, although on vacation, at a telephone call from Gomel came and performed at all the venues which were offered him. Belorussian variety and theater companies actively stepped in to fill the resultant "quiet season" in the oblast.

A friend in need is a friend indeed, it's true. There is no doubt that those who live and work in the difficult conditions of radioactive pollution have many friends. The noble Chernobyl fund is the best confirmation of this. The recent CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision on earmarking the necessary capital investments for work to eliminate the consequences of the accident and including them in the economic and social development plan—these measures untie the hands of republican and oblast organizations in resolving the majority of problems. But a lot still remains. There are not enough doctors in the zone, for example, they often come from other rayons and work using the tour of duty method. The question of changing specialization in agriculture is inescapably arising.

There is a shortage of the necessary equipment and technology. There is still no machinery which can remove the upper 3 to 5 cm of soil during decontamination, rather than the entire fertile layer. And while during the emergency work at the station they had everything, right up to remote-controlled robots, the main tool here is still the spade.

You cannot help noticing all this. If those who both geographically and morally are far removed from the problems here have now calmed down, shouldn't somebody be found who is both geographically and morally closer, who will not allow it to be forgotten, and who will stir up public opinion and disrupt the peace at the highest levels, as Maksimenko does?

Somebody should be found... But, for instance, V.G. Yevtukh, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, who is also the chairman of the commission for eliminating the consequences of the accident, thinks that everything is fine. And at the agroprom...

The republic Gosagroprom also does not see any particular problems. As for specialized equipment, First Deputy Chairman Ye.F. Sukhorukov said, these cabins do not justify the hopes pinned on them and anyhow are not needed. The dust is not particularly dangerous.

V.G. Zhukovskiy, the republic's deputy chief public health physician, considers that there really is a danger. At any rate, wherever it is a matter of people's health, it is always better to ensure a big safety margin. Thus, the idea so often repeated in these parts that unforgivably little has been done, that the asphalting, the water pipelines, the equipment, the washrooms, the land reclamation work, and even the laundries—everything should be done regardless of cost, not dragging the work out over many years but right away—this idea is not so naive. Just as the desire of the "Znamya" Sovkhoz director to move people to the clean zone as quickly as possible is not naive.

Of course, it is difficult for a bureaucrat to understand and forgive a person who violates the holy of holies—the peace and quiet of the upper echelons. But this is certainly the only way to act.

The republic Gosagroprom imposed a ban on giving the author of this article any information at all about the state of affairs. Of course, there are occasions when the stamp "For Official Use Only" is entirely justified. On the other hand, when everything is hushed up, it is easier to work and there are fewer demands.

But probably it is not so much a question of secrets. At the end of my conversation at the Gosagroprom the idea was expressed bluntly: Don't cause an argument between us and the country's Gosagroprom. The essence of the problem lies in this idea, or more precisely this attitude.

What caused Sovkhoz Director Maksimenko to fall foul of the "apparatchiks"? The fact that he was not afraid to argue and spoke bluntly. Of course, he will not stop, he will go further, will get into trouble, but will not be silent about the human calamity.

...When, during the accident at the station, people were required to risk their lives and go into the reactor, people were found who did this undaunted. Now this is not needed. Often all that is required is to go into the chief's office to try to fight for the truth as you see and understand it. And if you risk anything, it is certainly not your life. At worst, it is your career. Here it becomes clear that this is too great a sacrifice for some people.

Periodical Subscriptions, Circulations Viewed

PM261949 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 21 Feb 88 p 2

[Andrey Romanov article: "The Press We Choose"]

[Text] Judging by readers' letters, many people have been paying close attention to subscription rates for periodicals over the past year. True enough, a look at the circulation of various publications has indicated the readers' preferences and expectations, and shown how publishers have managed to make use of the opportunities opened by democratization and glasnost.

What are the results of this first appraisal? We decided to answer questions from our readers.

Aleksandr Borovkov works in the newspaper kiosk near the Detskiy department store in Moscow. He opens for business each morning around 7 a.m. Here's the scene: On Wednesdays, "MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI" (the Russian edition of "MOSCOW NEWS") sells out within

ten minutes (the kiosk's quota is 30 copies); "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" (20 copies), within 15 minutes. On Saturdays, 50 copies of "OGONEK" last about 20 minutes. Three times a week, the kiosk sells "SOVETSKAYA KULTURA" (20 copies) within 30 minutes. "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA" and "SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ROSSIYA" and "SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA" (50 copies each) are gone within an hour. Six days a week 15 to 20 copies of "SELSKAYA ZHIZN" disappear in an hour and a half; 50 copies of "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" are snapped up within three hours. On Fridays, 40 copies of "ZA RUBEZHOM" last an hour and a half, and 300 copies of "NEDELYA" less than three hours. Borovkov sells out of "PRAVDA" (100 to 150 copies daily) within two hours or so.

Other news agents around Moscow reported similar statistics. According to Soyuzpechat, the agency in charge of periodicals distribution, the number of subscribers generally determines total circulation and whether or not it should be increased. A few periodicals are not available by subscription. The print-run of "NEDELYA", for example, has remained unchanged: 1,900,000. Otherwise, as subscribers increase so does the print-run.

There are only two exceptions to this rule, as far as I know. Subscriptions ot the "MOLODAYA GVARDIYA" monthly have remained constant (about 608,000), but its print-run has been increased by some 60,000 copies. Consequently, retail sales have nearly tripled.

The second-exception is "OGONEK": to compensate for more than double the number of subscriptions (1,313,000 instead of 561,000), it has halved its retail sales. Estimates indicate that this popular weekly could easily sell two and a half million copies a week.

The number of subscribers to "PRAVDA" has decreased, as has its print-run. Editor-in-Chief Viktor Afanasyev is working to correct this situation. Last December, he wrote in "PRAVDA" that his newspaper did not always perform "with due journalistic brilliance". "PRAVDA" 's editors are now looking for new topics, approaches and forms.

Despite the current economic reform, "EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA" has been losing readers. Why? Perhaps because of stiffer competition from "IZVESTIYA," "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" and "NOVYY MIR". Their articles on planning, economic norms and government orders are read avidly by industry captains and housewives alike. Economics teachers us: if goods don't sell, they aren't good enough.

"ZA RUBEZHOM" ("ABROAD") has also lost some of its subscribers, apparently because domestic news at the moment is much more exciting than foreign news. Judging from the Letters column, "ZA RUBEZHOM" 's readers would like to see more articles assessing the international and domestic situations from contrasting angles.

"INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA" ("FOREIGN LITERATURE") is the only "loser" among the literary monthlies, possibly because it rarely publishes long-overdue foreign classics. Almost 20 years ago, Andrey Bitov predicted that by 1980 we might at long last be introduced to James Joyce's Ulysses, one of the greatest works of the 20th century. We have read Bitov's novel since, but not Ulysses. What about William Faulkner's Sanctuary? What about Jean-Paul Sartre? The list goes on.

One has to subscribe to as many literary monthlies as possible to achieve that. This implies considerable expenses. Fortunately, you're not required now to subscribe for an entire year. You can subscribe for six months, three months or a month and then renew your subscription—as long as you do so a month in advance.

A yearly subscription is, of course, more reliable. Recently, when the "MOSKVA" literary monthly began publishing Karamzin's History of the Russian State, the demand for subscriptions soared. By January 10, further subscriptions to "MOSKVA" were suspended. People who had subscribed for only six months panicked, too, and appealed to Soyuzpechat to extend their subscription through 1988 and 1989 when the last chapters of Karamzin's opus will appear. But Soyuzpechat has little to do with the situation. Its responsibilities are limited to distribution.

Why wasn't the promise of unlimited subscription to "MOSKVA" kept? I put that question to Vladimir Kolyshev, deputy chief of the Periodicals Department at the USSR Committee for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade. "We didn't anticipate such an increase in demand," he said. By January, there were 412,000 subscribers. Total circulation is limited to 490,000. But beginning this month, "MOSKVA" 's print-run will be increased to 600,000. "MOSKVA" 's newsprint quota won't accommodate any further increase in circulation. But the State Committee is looking for ways to solve the problem, Kolyshev assured me. Subscriptions under 12 months are likely to be extended. If possible, subscription will be made unlimited.

Alas, there is no guarantee that a similar situation won't arise at some other magazine or newspaper.

Only a short time ago, one could subscribe to all sorts of periodicals without depleting the family budget. Soyuzpechat extended the period during which one can subscribe: they began accepting 1989 subscriptions in January of 1988 instead of August. Thus, you could pay for a year's subscription to, say, "NOVYY MIR", in January; to "IZVESTIYA" in February; to "OGONEK" in March, and so on.

This extension of the subscription period was widely publicized. Unfortunately, the extension hasn't lived up to its publicity. In December, the extension was revised.

Now it pertains only to newspapers, plus a few magazines. To subscribe to literary monthlies for 1989, you will have to wait until August 1988. They say that any innovation is difficult and therefore cannot be instituted all at once. We have been told to wait another year or so for this scheme to take full effect.

It's too tiresome to reiterate the old adage: promises must be kept. Yet I can't help remarking that it's advisable to think hard before making a public promise. Moreover, the public should be completely informed of any changes in previously advertised plans.

Mikoyan Profiles 'Enemy of the People' Beria

PM021451 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 88 p 4

[Doctor of Historical Sciences S. Mikoyan article under the rubric "Lesson of History": "Servant. He Decided the Fate of Many, Inspiring Submission Through Fear. But Not Respect. Years Later the Verdict of History Has Been Passed On Beria"—first three paragraphs are introduction by A. Afanasyev, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA observer]

[Text] It would hardly be worth returning to this figure if we were moved by an impatient desire to unmask once again a long-since-exposed evil. Our aim is different: to try to investigate the mechanism that emerged gradually and the role played in it by the character of Beria. Not everything here is obvious. Was he a butcher? An instrument of arbitrary rule and fear? All this is true. But others were effortlessly removed like old gloves. Yet he stayed around for 15 long years... How did the myths arise? Myths about "ignorance," about villains that popped up "out of nowhere" (Yezhov), about the sham restoration of justice and the triumph of the law (1938), and about the "creative" activity and "organizational talent" of criminals (Beria during the war years). How was a mechanism formed for turning black into white and vice versa: for turning innocent people into "monsters," butchers into benefactors (Beria in 1938 and 1953), and future victims into accomplices and even collaborators in crimes? How was the idea of "extended complicity" implemented in practice, when attempts were made not merely to remove opponents but to involve, stigmatize, and smear hundreds and thousands of unconnected people in order to make everyone then (and in the future!) feel guilty?

History effaces indelible official stigmas. A time comes when the proper people are branded. Those whose lying minds thought up these brands should be branded themselves. Then everyone will be in their proper place. Not just the criminals but the saboteurs. Not just the villains but the enemies of the people. In the wake of the "Victory" article, readers have been insisting that we discuss Beria. Beria was in the front rank of the real enemies of the people. That was his real role...

We must restore the whole truth about these real saboteurs and enemies of the people, just as we must about their victims and opponents. Documents are important. But eyewitness testimony by participants in the events—those already dead and those still alive—are no less important. While colored by personal association and not the definitive truth, they provide nonetheless information which is hard to overestimate... We publish one such testimony today. A. Afanasyev, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA observer.

"Cadres are our most valuable asset! Remember that, Lavrentiy..." This sad anecdote appeared in the late fifties, when the 20th party congress told the severe truth about the lawlessness of the "personality cult period"—as the authoritarian rule of those years was called. The first sentence was said with feeling, as if addressing a hall from a rostrum, while the second sentence was whispered to someone nearby.

Indeed, he, Lavrentiy, a balding short man in pince-nez, was always nearby. He always had been, ever since he had demonstrated in the early thirties his personal devotion and readiness to carry out any task of whatever delicacy. (I learned everything in this article from my father and other participants in and witnesses of these events).

Lavrentiy Pavlovich Beria was head of the Georgian State Political Administration (Georgia along with Azerbaijan and Armenia was then in the Transcaucasian Federation). In 1931 Stalin vacationed in Tskhaltubo. Beria went there too, nominally to ensure Stalin's safety, but actually to win his confidence and thereby further his career. Beria stayed in Tskhaltubo until Stalin left. Even though they had never met before, they understood each other well. So well that an order was sent straight from Tskhaltubo to Moscow instructing that a—completely unscheduled—hearing be prepared at the Central Committee to consider reports from the party and soviet leadership of the Transcaucasian Kraykom and all three republics. Nobody could understand why it was being held or what it was in aid of. Even Central Committee Secretary Kaganovich, for instance, by all accounts had no information to go on apart from the short text of the telegram from Tskhaltubo. The session itself started without any preparation. It was chaired by Kaganovich. The people who had come to Moscow—Kartvelishvili (first secretary of the Transcaucasian Kraykom), Yakovlev (second secretary), Orakhelashvili (chairman of the federation's soviet of people's commissars), and the other leaders: Buniat-Zade, Devdariani, Khandzhyan, Polonskiy, Ter-Gabrielyan, Musabekov, and Dogadov—were confused.

As A.V. Snegov—a participant in the session, a party member since 1917, and at the time deputy organizer of the Transcaucasian Kraykom Department—recalls that everyone remarked on the absence of Sergo Ordzhonikidze. "Finding the right moment," A.V. Snegov wrote in his memoirs, "I asked Mikoyan, who was sitting

beside me, why Sergo was not there. He whispered in my ear: 'Why on earth should Sergo want to participate in Beria's coronation? He knows him too well.' So that was what it was all about! I was thus the first of the arrivals to learn what was in store for us."

The session itself was standard and various questions were discussed. Stalin came to the main point at the end of his speech—almost as a closing remark. Filling his by-then-familiar pipe with tobacco, he suddenly said: "What if we set up a new leadership for the kraykom with Kartvelishvili as first secretary and Beria as second secretary?" It is curious that at that time, it seems, dissent was still possible. Until then, opponents able to openly object and defend different viewpoints were removed.

Kartvelishvili reacted immediately and with Caucasian emotion exclaimed: "I'll not work with that charlatan!" Orakhelashvili asked: "What did you say Koba, did I hear that right?" "We can't spring that on the party organizations," Ter-Gabrielyan butted in. Nobody supported the proposal. Then the "democratic discussion" was abruptly cut short. Stalin angrily said: "Well then, that means we'll resolve the issue by an executive decision."

Over the next few months the kray leadership was reshuffled. Kartvelishvili was sent to Eykha in the West Siberia Kraykom, Yakovlev was made leader of "Vostokzoloto," Dogadov was sent to the Urals. Mamiy Orakhelashvili became first secretary of the Transcaucasian Kraykom, with the second secretary being Beria, naturally. But not for long: Orakhelashvili was soon summoned to Moscow and made deputy director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. Beria became first secretary. After the reorganization of the Transcaucasian Federation he became first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. Then there was an even more abrupt and unambiguous change. "Just 2 months later 32 Georgian rayons got new raykom first secretaries," Snegov relates. "Until then they had been the chiefs of rayon NKVD departments. This strikes me as typical. No less typical than the fact that none of those summoned to Moscow died a natural death. I alone survived after 18 years in camps..."

Beria soon became a "historian" too. His book "On the Question of the History of the Bolshevik Organizations of the Transcaucasus" was published. The text was written by Georgian historians as a report which Beria read out at an aktiv meeting. Needless to say, the authors were soon shot and the book was safely published under the name of L.P. Beria. He, of course, made every effort to "illuminate" Stalin's role.

Svetlana Alliluyeva, in her first book, which was published abroad, tried to create a "rose-colored legend," claiming that Beria—that "evil genius"—deceived and misled Stalin by exploiting his confidence. This legend, incidentally, was current even before Beria in connection with the sinister figure of Yezhov. For this reason the same Snegov, who held prominent party posts right up to his arrest, wrote: "You would have to know nothing about the situation in the Central Committee at that time and the degree to which power was concentrated in Stalin's hands—when Politburo members had no right to protect their own deputies and combat friends whose loyalty they did not question, their wives, and even their children—you would have to know nothing about Stalin in order to seriously pin responsibility on Yezhov for the elimination of many Central Committee members, delegates to the 17th party congress, Central Committee secretaries, and Politburo members without betraying your conscience."

Yet even today some poorly informed people who lack either the desire or the determination to accept historical truth for what it is are not averse to airing their views on this subject.

But the truth is extremely simple: Beria's role had been played before him by Yagoda and Yezhov in turn, but these puppets were invariably controlled by one man. Beria was followed by and worked alongside Merkulov, Abakumov, and many other lesser assistants.

Many paradoxes cannot be understood without understanding this. Why, in 1938 for instance, did Beria, having replaced Yezhov as people's commissar for internal affairs, ask at the Politburo an amazing question along roughly these lines: Is it perhaps time to arrest fewer people, or else there will be nobody left to arrest. Older-generation people recall a certain fall-off in the wave of arrests. Some people even started to be released. This won Beria the definite support of those who, while nominally part of the leadership, could not lift a finger to halt the machinery of repression.

Just how did Beria dare to say such a thing? The reason is obvious: To ease the atmosphere he needed only to defuse the situation, say a few words about "things having gone too far," and pin the blame on someone else (Yezhov in this case). Then what? Then he quietly continued doing "the necessary."

Beria did not balk at personally participating in interrogations. In his office in Tbilisi, according to contemporary testimony, he personally shot Khandzhyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. He dealt mercilessly not only with those who had long worked with Stalin and knew what he was like, but also with those who had only slightly known him—Beria—before his unprecedented elevation. That is probably why the Georgian Communist Party suffered more than Communist parties in neighboring republics.

Beria was distinguished by his cunning, smartness, and ability to convince the "boss" that he was not a spent force and would not become one, but would remain useful for many a long year. And so he did...

Beria's qualities included certain organizational abilities. During the war this helped him prove his worth not only in the NKVD, but in defense-related matters. True, he was helped by the fact that he had free control of an enormous workforce concentrated in the camps. A mere reference along the lines of "Beria ordered..." absolutely never failed.

But at the same time he tried not to relax his monitoring of the work of Merkulov, the new people's commissar for internal affairs. This he was allowed to do. Provided, of course, he did not break the first rule of the "personality cult" regime: The repressive apparatus should be under the direct jurisdiction of one man and ultimately controlled by him alone. The fate of people whom Stalin knew could generally only be decided by Stalin himself and no one else. Neither Beria nor anyone else could do anything about it. Beria, for instance, hated Academician P.L. Kapitsa. Citing the fact that Kapitsa was not working on the problem of splitting the atom but was concentrating on a new, simple, and cheap means of producing oxygen (which, incidentally, was exceptionally important for all of industry!), Beria managed to get him removed from his job as director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Physical Problems, and then as chief of the Main Administration for Oxygen. Kapitsa was forced to set up a small laboratory at his own dacha and live there continuously. But Beria did not get permission from Stalin to have him arrested, and, consequently, could not lift a finger against him.

People who know too much are usually troublesome. And this was another facet of Beria's talent. He did not let Stalin have such ideas about him for very long. Yet his time came too... In early 1950 Abakumov, minister for state security, was instructed to arrest Beria's closest associates, such as Belorussian State Security Minister Tsanava and certain others. The so-called "Mingrelian affair" was hatched (many of Beria's underlings were drawn from among his fellow-countrymen). When Stalin was told about the progress of the case, he commented: "Look for the big Mingrelian." He probably thought that Abakumov also "knew a lot" and was perhaps too closely linked to Beria—as a result the minister was replaced...

But just then in 1952 his attention was diverted by the more pressing and sensational "case of the poisoner doctors." The new minister—Ignatyev, a former party worker—was a naive man. He found no evidence against the group of arrested physicians with the highest qualifications and no information at all about their pernicious activities, apart from a letter from a certain Timashchuk, who worked at the Kremlin Health Administration. None of the physicians will confess, he reported to Stalin in the presence of several Politburo members (regular Politburo meetings were not usually held. Those whom Stalin invited to his dacha for dinner thereby participated in sessions). The reply was: If you find no evidence and they do not confess, you will find yourself where they are now... "Confessions" followed and evidence was fabricated by investigators who were less naive and more experienced in such matters than their new minister.

It was nighttime on 1 March 1953. Stalin, who had high blood pressure, went for a bath. He was left alone in the room, where a bed had been prepared on a couch. He never used to get up before 12 or sometimes even 1 in the afternoon, and nobody could enter his room unless asked. Two o'clock came and went, three, four, five o'clock. The alarmed security guards did not know what to do. Finally they called the cook, a simple elderly Russian woman who had long worked for the "boss" (perhaps one of the few people whom he still trusted). She knocked on the door. No answer. She knocked louder. Finally they decided to break the door down. The "boss" was lying on the floor near the couch. He had suffered a major stroke and was completely paralysed, having lost even the power of speech. He just looked angrily at those around him and the physicians (new ones!) who had arrived. And at the Politburo members, informed by Malenkov, who had come to the dacha. Three or four days went by.

It was the end of an era...

But Beria did not yet understand this. He was quite openly not grieving. As he saw it, things could not have been better. Malenkov, the official "heir"—it was he who had given the report at the recent 19th congress at the end of 1952—was a weak man whom he could influence. Beria not only no longer needed to fear Stalin, now he himself would to all intents and purposes be in control of the entire country.

The euphoria of Beria—an insolent man who did not think it necessary to conceal his feelings—became noticeable to Stalin's son Vasiliy. It was he who began the legend that his father had been "doctored to death" or perhaps even poisoned (this legend was later "substantiated" by Avtorkhanov, the well-known foreign "Sovietologist," echoing Vasiliy, who just wanted his father to regain the power of speech—when he would have ordered all Politburo members who dared survive him to be shot).

Meanwhile, Beria was "scoring points." Probably recalling 1938, he reviewed the "doctors' case." Immediately after the death of the "boss" the physicians were rehabilitated, released, and several investigators, headed by Ryumin, were sentenced to be shot. The investigators were not simply made "scapegoats." The entirely deserved punishment that they received was necessary to show everybody that the times were changing for the better—and thanks to Beria.

The times were indeed changing, but this man, reared on intrigues and crimes, was not one to think about the direction change should take. As he saw it, the party had long been crushed by a repressive apparatus and would never be able to restore its role in society. He was unable

to see that his calculations of who was worth what were of little value themselves, since they were based merely on knowledge of the mechanics of "palace coups" rather than on the laws of the development of socialist society. This society would remove him and his apparatus—a terrifying mechanism that had been built up over 2 decades.

Then in the summer of 1953 during a session of the Politburo (which had been renamed the Presidium just before Stalin's death) a group of Soviet Army marshals and generals were called to the Kremlin. They were ordered to arrest Beria and dispatch him to the headquarters of the Moscow Garrison.

Beria's trial went quickly. Maybe too quickly. He should probably have been made to tell more; this would have made the work of today's historians easier... Probably a more thorough investigation should have been carried out before he was put down as some kind of "agent," as happened in the heat of the moment (even if his work as an agent for Musavat [anti-Soviet Azerbaijani nationalist party during civil war] intelligence in Baku in 1919 was not really the carrying out of a party task, as Beria tried to claim).

But that, of course, was not the whole story. The fact was that an entire era had come to an end...

History makes a high assessment of the importance of the 20th party congress. The leaders of the CPSU headed by N.S. Khrushchev put a stop to the disgraceful phenomena which had for a time distorted the face of our society and led to people being unjustifiably victimized.

It is now a question of the creation of a genuine and objective history of the party and Soviet society. The last party Central Committee plenum stressed that the task is to write a true and complete history which will be the history of the people's life and struggle with all its victories and failures, its bright and tragic moments, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, violations of socialist legality, and sometimes even crimes...

The question is sometimes asked: Why call up ghosts from the past, why dredge up ancient history? The reply is simple: We must know the past. Not least in order to ensure that the future is finally free of it.

Agricultural

Nikonov Addresses Grain Products Collegium

LD012222 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Questions of radically improving the operation of the bread-baking industry and improving the quality of bread and bakery goods were at the center of attention of those taking part in an extended session of the USSR Grain Products Ministry collegium held today.

The participants in the session deemed unsatisfactory the work of the Grain Products Ministries of the union republics to improve the quality of bread and bakery intems and the organization of supplying fresh produce to the public in the range required. The collegium mapped out measures for the quickest possible elimination of the shortcomings that were noted.

Comrade Nikonov took part in the work of the collegium.

Murakhovskiy Presents Agro-Industrial Prizes

LD010947 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Diplomas and badges of honor were presented yesterday to the winners of the 1987 prizes of the USSR Council of Ministers at the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. The awards were for scientific studies of great significance for the development of livestock breeding and veterinary science.

The awards were presented by Murakhovskiy, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman and USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee chairman.

Media Report 25 Feb-2 Mar Agricultural Developments

LD030030 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on USSR agricultural developments carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 25 Feb-2 March. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

25 February

Azerbaijani farms have begun sowing perennial grasses. Forage grasses are to be sown on more than 70,000 hectares this year, and approximately one-half of this area has already been covered. (1900)

26 February

No fileworthy items monitored.

27 February

In Kazakhstan the snow in 30 million hectares of fields has been plowed into snow ridges. There is good snow retention on almost all farms. (1200)

28 February

Early spring crops have been sown on almost 15,000 hectares in the Crimea to date. (0304)

29 February

Spring sowing has started in southern Tajikistan where 80,000 hectares are to be occupied by cereals. One-fourth of all seeds, however, are substandard. (1200)

1 March

Preparation of corn seeds for spring sowing has been completed on farms in Kirghizia. This time they have been treated with a special biological preparation containing a growth stimulator and antidisease and antipest agents. The film will also protect the seeds from spring frosts. This year 200,000 hectares of corn plantations in the republic will be cultivated using intensive farming technology. (0000)

2 March

Sowing of early cereal crops has been completed in Surkhandarya Oblast, Uzbekistan. (0304)

Farms in Kirghizia have completed preparation of spring wheat, cereal, and feed crop seeds for spring sowing. Many farms will use for the first time such new high-yield varieties of barley as Druzhba and Odesskiy Sto. The area in the republic sown to grain and feed crops is currently approximately 400,000 hectares. (0304)

Scientific

Testing Begins on New Ka-32S Maritime Helicopter

LD030931 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0620 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] Murmansk, 3 Mar (TASS)—Operations testing of the Ka-32S helicopter, the so-called maritime version, has begun in Murmansk. This helicopter has long been awaited, both in the far north and the far east. The weather here is unstable, and there is a requirement for a helicopter that can fly in fog, in cloud, and at night.

The Ka-32S was designed by the Kamov Experimental Design Bureau. It has radar and an automatic control complex on board. With the aid of a computer, the helicopter can maintain set height and banking angle. This facility was not available on previous helicopters.

The new helicopter has many roles. It will be needed by sailors going to the Arctic in icebreakers. In ice survey work, the hydrologists will not need a ruler or a map; the helicopter's electronic gear will conduct "visual" observation. This produces rapid, accurate results for the area under study. The helicopter's capacity for landing on automatic pilot, even in fog and cloud, using its own equipment, as well as its maneuverability, will give it a greater versatility for use from sea oil rigs, for aerial photography, and in emergency situations. It can also be used for unloading ships in motion at sea, which so far has not been done.

Reusable Spacecraft Undergoing Final Tests

LD031414 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] The Soviet reusable spacecraft will soon be ready for launch, a spokesman for the State Committee on Space Research, Stepan Bagadyash, said at a briefing in Moscow. At the moment, the spaceship is undergoing final tests, he said.

Belitskiy Answers Questions on Space Program

LD030232 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] [Announcer] Well, as usual, our science correspondent Boris Belitskiy is here to answer the latest questions. Boris, the first letter today is from Ronnie Easley in Sussex. Your reports on the progress of the Mir space station, he writes, have been very interesting to listen to. I wish your cosmonauts much success (?in the future) [words indistinct] and look forward to hearing more about their progress in your science and engineering program. Well, Boris, what is the latest news from the Mir station?

[Belitskiy] Well, after several days preparation, a two-man crew carried out a very difficult and important operation. (?They spent) 4 and 1/2 hours outside their spacecraft. Now, in space jargon that's called EVA, extra-vehicular activity. Well, the purpose of their EVA this time was to replace a section of the solar batteries deployed outside the space station. As a matter of fact, the crew commander, Vladimir Titov, had been trained to perform a somewhat similar operation more than 4 years ago, but on that occasion a fire in (?their) booster rocket necessitated aborting their mission to the Salyut-7 station, where this operation was to have been performed by Titov and his crewmate Gennadiy Strekalov.

[Announcer] And the battery replacement wasn't carried out?

[Belitskiy] No, it was. It had to be done by the crew already on board the Salyut station, although it hadn't been on their mission program.

[Announcer] And this latest battery replacement aboard the Mir station—what was its purpose?

[Belitskiy] To increase the power supply of the station, by installing a more efficient section of the battery, and also to test some even more promising convertors of solar energy into electricity. Titov and his crewmate Musa Manarov coped with this job very well.

[Announcer] We have some further questions about Soviet space research from Mr G. Woodward in Taunton, Somerset. Does your space program, he asks, include any missions in the near future to the minor

planets or the outer giants? I know you have sent interplanetary probes to the Moon and Venus and are planning one to Mars in the near future.

[Belitskiy] Yes, Mr Woodward, an unmanned mission to one of the minor planets or asteriods is under consideration for the nineties. As for a tour of the giant (?outer planets) like that of the American Voyager spacecraft, that will hardly be possible in the immediate future. You must remember that such a mission is made possible thanks to a very rare (?parade) of the planets [words indistinct] for interplanetary [words indistinct] for a long time now.

[Announcer] [Words indistinct] sending a man to Mars, otherwise your country wouldn't leave a man in space for almost a whole year. When can we expect to see a manned mission to Mars?

[Belitskiy] Not until we know a great deal more about that planet and about man's ability to endure a mission of the duration such a flight would take. Admittedly, the steadily increasing duration of Soviet manned flight [word indistinct] growing capability to undertake a manned flight to Mars. But such a flight will have to be prepared by quite a few more unmanned missions, so I wouldn't expect a manned flight to Mars before the turn of the century, and Soviet scientists hope that a project of such a history-making nature will be an international venture. For their part, scientists in this country are working on [word indistinct] (?international) flight routes. They've produced the powerful Energiya booster, which could embark a large spacecraft on such a flight, and they're working on planetary rovers that can be used in exploring the planet.

An important step toward a manned mission to Mars will be Project Phobos, the launching of two unmanned space craft this summer to explore Mars and its satellite Phobos, and we will of course be covering that mission in detail.

Spacecraft To Launch U.S. Commercial Payload

LD030151 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Excerpts] In the middle of next year, a Soviet spaceship will launch into orbit an American commercial payload. The first Soviet-American agreement for such commercial cooperation has been signed between the Glavkosmos agency and the Payload Systems, Inc. Details from our correspondent Sergey Levskoy:

[Levskoy] The joint venture provides for the delivery of an American instrument for growing crystals aboard the Soviet manned orbital station Mir. Americans will analyze and process the data of the experiment. They believe the data can be used in biotechnology, pharmaceuticals, and the chemical industry.

The Soviet agency Glavkosmos was set up in 1985 for use of space hardware here in the interests of the national economy. In the summer of 1986, the agency offered other countries to carry cargoes in space as well as to buy from it photographs of the earth taken in space, which are much clearer than those taken from Western civilian satellites. So far three American companies—the Hughes Aircraft, General Electric, and Ford Aerospace—have taken up the offer from Glavkosmos. [passage omitted]

The United States Administration refuses to give permission for bringing an American satellite to the USSR as it fears technological secrets will be given away. The head of the launch section at Glavkosmos, Dmitriy Polyetayev, believes, however, the fears are groundless:

[Begin Polyetayev recording in Russian fading into English translation] The Soviet Union is not interested in technological secrets of a customer. That is the essence of the guarantees of security pledged on behalf of the Soviet Government. A satellite, or other cargo, is delivered to the USSR without a customs inspection. The customer has the full chance to accompany the cargo up to its launch by a Soviet rocket. All the work with the cargo is done only by the customer's personnel or with his knowledge. [end recording]

[Levskoy] The United States Administration's ban on launching American satellites with Soviet boosters remains in force. The Payload Systems, Inc. is the first American company that has been granted permission to have a Soviet rocket carry its research equipment. A spokesman for Glavkosmos agency, Dmitriy Polyetayev, says this is just the beginning, apparently, in broad Soviet-American commercial cooperation in space:

[Begin Polyetayev recording] I hope that following the Payload Systems, Inc., we'll have other customers. The idea is to have technological experiments aboard the permanently manned orbital station Mir and on unmanned Soviet stations. Experiments in biotechnology are the more promising. We also look forward to orders for other services: launching satellites, selling photographs of the earth's surface, and other research data. The terms offered by Glavkosmos are more favorable than those of our competitors. [end recording]

New Solar Battery Aboard 'Mir' Being Studied

LD022258 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Specialists at Mission Control have been studying data on the work of a new solar battery panel aboard the Soviet orbital complex Mir. The panel was mounted last Friday by the spacemen Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov during their 4-hour walk into raw space. It comprises various types of devices to transform solar energy into electricity. Experts are to compare their efficiency of operation in outer space. The most promising elements will be used in interplanetary flights lasting for several years.

Military

Yazov Addresses Military Olympians

LD022140 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] Today, on 2 March, a meeting took place in Moscow between the USSR Ministry of Defense leadership, the chief political directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, and the Army sportsmen who took part in the 15th Winter Olympic games. Those gathered were addressed by Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR defense minister.

'Shortcomings' in Kazakh Military Training

LD012050 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] [First Announcer] The party-economic aktiv of Kazakhstan met today to resolve questions of restructuring military-patriotic upbringing and training of young people for service in the Army.

[Second announcer] There are serious shortcomings in the republic in this area. In Guryevskaya, Kzyl-Ordinskaya, and Dzhezkazganskaya Oblasts elementary military training is lagging behind requirements. Military instructors are badly selected and trained. Many primary organizations of DOSAAF are inactive. The importance was stressed at the conference of international upbringing. Kolbin, Communsit Party Central Committee of Kazakhstan first secretary, spoke at the conference.

Yazov Attends New Academy Building Opening

PM011653 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Celebration at Academy"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting was held in Moscow. 23 February to mark the opening of a new building of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy named for K.Ye. Voroshilov. Soviet military leaders, servicemen of the Moscow garrison, and foreign military delegations attending the celebrations for the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy participated.

The meeting was addressed by Army General D.T. Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR defense minister. He congratulated the audience on the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces and wished the academy's command, professors, and teaching staff new successes in the training of highly-skilled military cadres.